

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Coverage on Socialist Workers Party convention  
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 63/NO. 15 APRIL 19, 1999

## Steelworkers at Newport News strike

BY MARY MARTIN  
AND STU SINGER

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia — Nearly 9,000 workers, most of them members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888, went on strike against the largest U.S. military shipyard here April 5.

Night shift workers who came out of the gates at 12:01 a.m. when the contract expired were greeted by hundreds of cheering co-workers who had gathered over the last two hours. The workers, most of them wearing union hats and T-shirts, were slapping high fives, applauding, and chanting, "88, Close the Gate!" and "What do we want? A contract!"

Other workers drove past the picket lines honking horns in support. One car that drew great cheers from the pickets was covered in spray painted slogans, including, "No sell out, 8888, Frick this," a reference to the much disliked company chairman William Fricks. A rally and extended picket line involving some 300 strikers and supporters at the 50th Street gate lasted until around

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## Stop the U.S.-NATO assault on Yugoslavia!

### Open the borders! Independence for Kosova!

Working people should actively campaign against the savage U.S.-led assault on Yugoslavia, getting out the truth and joining in public protests in the streets. Championing the fight by the Albanian people in Kosova for their national self-determination is at the center of defending the Yugoslav

### EDITORIAL

workers state.

The labor movement must demand that, instead of shipping thousands of Kosovar Albanians to concentration camps around the world — including the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba — Washington and other capitalist governments open their borders and offer jobs and full rights to our

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U.S. and NATO warplanes launched missiles that hit a working-class neighborhood in the coal mining town of Aleksinac, in southern Serbia, Yugoslavia, on April 5.

## Washington aims to partition Kosova

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

U.S.-led forces have steadily intensified their bombing of Yugoslavia, increasingly hitting civilian areas. The scope of the assault is the most sweeping against a country in Europe since World War II. Meanwhile, the regime of President Slobodan Milosevic has driven hundreds of thousands of work-

ers and farmers from their towns in Kosova into neighboring republics.

Washington is seeking to apply enough military pressure on Belgrade to force it to negotiate a deal, enforced by an imperialist-led occupation force, that will lead to the partition of Kosova, following the Milosevic regime's "ethnic cleansing" campaign, or to

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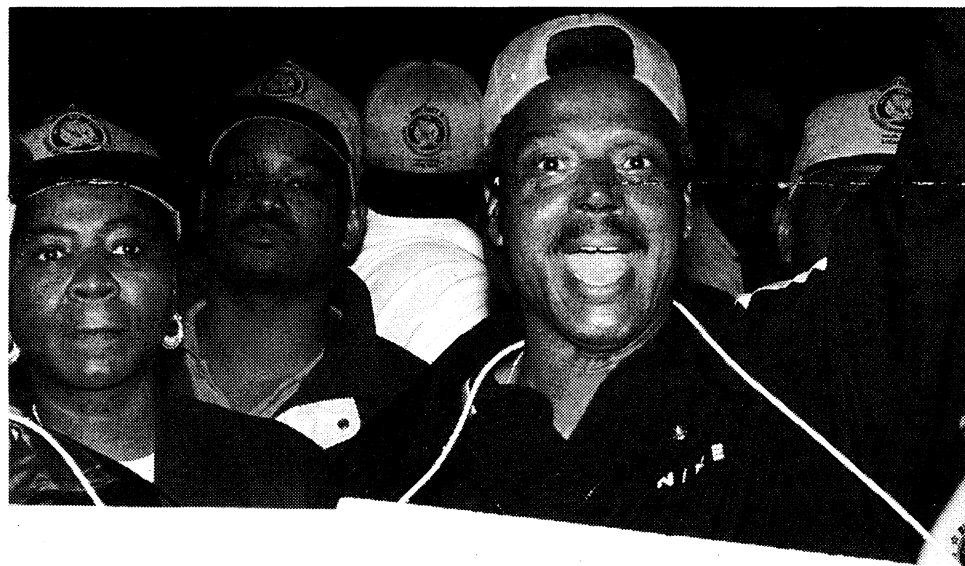
## Campaign is launched to sell 'Capitalism's World Disorder'

BY NAOMI CRAINE  
AND SALM KOLIS

SAN FRANCISCO — "Socialist Workers are proving that it pays to be seen with and seen reading this book," declared Joel Britton at the Socialist Workers Party convention here, holding up a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-*

*Class Politics at the Millennium*. Britton, a leader of the SWP's work in the trade unions, was giving a report titled "Stand Up, Act, Fight, and Be Counted: The Class-Struggle Vanguard in Formation." The report centered on deepening the party's participation in labor and farm struggles. He described

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Shipyard workers walked out at Newport News at 12:01 a.m. April 5. Militant/Stu Singer

## N.Y. protests keep pressure on cops who killed Diallo

BY MIKE SHUR

NEW YORK — More than 500 protesters gathered in front of the Bronx County courthouse March 31 to demand justice for Amadou Diallo, and to watch as the four cops who killed him were taken in to be formally arraigned on charges of second degree murder and reckless endangerment. The cops were then released on \$100,000 bail.

A large number of demonstrators were African immigrants, many of them neighbors of Diallo in the Bronx community of Soundview. They were joined by working people from around New York.

Close to 200 cops gathered outside the courthouse to support the four men being arraigned. They carried signs saying "We serve an ungrateful community" and chanted "Not guilty." The day before, a similar rally drew more than 500 off-duty police.

In their first public statements since the shooting, all four cops said they did nothing wrong. They claimed Diallo made motions

like he was reaching for a gun, and they had to fire 41 shots because he didn't fall down after the first few.

Minutes after the cops' news conference, lawyers for the Diallo family released an autopsy report, conducted by a pathologist, stating at least two shots hit the bottom of Diallo's foot, proving the cops continued to fire after he was down.

Amadou's father, Sekou Diallo, joined 2,500 in Washington, D.C. for a March 3 rally against police brutality. He and Amadou's mother, Kadiadou Diallo, are starting a 16-city tour to speak out against police brutality.

Meanwhile, daily pickets have been called for outside the Federal courthouse in Brooklyn where the jury selection for the trial of the cops who tortured Abner Louima is being held. A citywide rally has been called for April 15 by a coalition of Democratic party officials, labor officials, and Black and Latino community figures to build support for a "10 point plan" to "reform" the police.

\$17

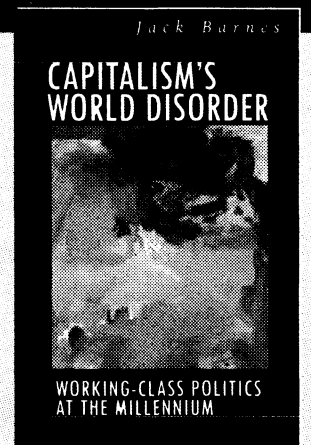
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### Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

BY JACK BARNES

This may be the only *millennium* title on bookstore shelves today whose purpose is not to mystify and obscure but to reveal and clarify. The social devastation, financial panics, political turmoil, police brutality, and military assaults accelerating all around us are not chaos. They are the inevitable product of lawful and understandable forces unleashed by capitalism. But the future capitalism has in store for us is not the future that inevitably must be. It can be changed by the timely solidarity, courageous action, and united struggle of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. That is what this book has been written to bring closer.

Available at bookstores listed on page 12.



**Castro on battle to end racial discrimination in Cuba — page 4**

# How U.S. imperialism fueled Yugoslav war

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Leading up to and during the two-week-old brutal bombing of Yugoslavia that began March 24, the Clinton administration has tried to justify the NATO assault on the grounds it is attempting to stop aggression from Belgrade and end the driving of hundreds of thousands of Albanian people out of Kosovo. A look at the record, however, shows that the current NATO bombing is a continuation of the more than decade-long policy by Washington and its imperialist allies to dismember Yugoslavia.

On the blood and bones of the Yugoslav people, the U.S. government has further entrenched its position as the major "European" power. As the rival national capitalist classes in Europe, wrapped in the United Nations flag, attempted fruitlessly to displace one another as the "winner" in the new Balkan wars, Washington unfurled its NATO banner in 1994 and decisively moved in. Despite demagogic rationalizations, the U.S. rulers' aim has been not to stop "ethnic cleansing" or to impose "democracy," but to strengthen U.S. supremacy in Europe and create the conditions that one day will facilitate the restoration of capitalism throughout the Yugoslav workers state.

The groundwork for the war in Yugoslavia was laid out more than a decade before the formal breakup of the federation in 1991-92. The Yugoslav economy was already in crisis due to the anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the Stalinist regime of Josip Broz (Tito).

## Regime forged in Stalinist mold

Despite its assertion of national independence against the Soviet regime of Joseph Stalin in 1948, the Tito leadership was fundamentally forged in the Stalinist mold. Its policies were those of a privileged bureaucratic caste that lived at the expense of the working class. It sought accommodation with imperialism, rather than pursuing an internationalist foreign policy in the interests of the toilers. Belgrade's call for neutrality during the imperialist invasion of Korea in the early 1950s and its lack of solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation fighters in the 1960s are just two examples. Tito's regime also kept oppositionists under close surveillance, imprisoning large numbers of them.

The Yugoslav regime had opened up its economy to international finance capital and loans from imperialist institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), much earlier than other regimes in Eastern Europe. Tito's government, as early as the 1950s, had introduced capitalist market measures into the nationalized and planned economy packaged under the slogan of "workers self-management."

Factories operated in competition with other enterprises with an emphasis on individual profitability. "The enterprises compete among themselves in the national market as if they were capitalist entities," remarked Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban revolution, after his visit to Yugoslavia in 1959. "In broad strokes, with



an element of caricature, you could describe Yugoslav society as managerial capitalism with socialist distribution of profits. Each enterprise is viewed not as a group of workers but as a unit functioning more or less in a capitalist manner, obeying laws of supply and demand."

These measures opened up the country to greater pressure from the world capitalist market, bringing with them all the problems associated with a "market" economy and its cycles of production: inflation and rising cost of living, unemployment, and greater differentiation in wage levels from one factory to another. These economic problems became major contributing factors aggravating existing national tensions and aiding the development of those favoring the restoration of capitalism.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a section of the ruling bureaucracy in Croatia, for example, called for income from the lucrative tourist industry in the Dalmatian coast to be allocated entirely to the Croatian, not the federal government. They resisted using such resources to even out the imbalances across Yugoslavia through "affirmative action" programs for the least developed areas. Provinces and republics closed their markets to one another, seeking to become self-sufficient. This inevitably worked to the detriment of the least developed regions, especially where oppressed nationalities lived like the Albanians in Kosovo. So, when the 1974-75 worldwide recession hit, the gyrations of the capitalist market affected Yugoslav working people, too, in a differential manner, exacerbating national divisions.

## Int'l finance capital fans nationalism

The first serious economic crisis hit in the late 1970s. It was caused by the rapid rise in

the prices of oil, which Belgrade imported from abroad, and declining markets for the country's manufactured goods, which were largely exported to capitalist countries.

Then came the infamous "stabilization" plans of the IMF, through which imperialist financial institutions robbed a portion of the wealth Yugoslav working people produced. The imposition of IMF-dictated policies exacerbated rivalries between the rulers of different republics and accelerated social inequalities and thus social tensions.

Faced with the crisis of the 1970s, the Yugoslav regime had run up sizable foreign debts much like semicolonial countries that are under debt bondage to imperialist powers. In order to continue providing loans, the IMF demanded austerity measures that Belgrade implemented in successive waves in the 1980s. The government lifted price controls on many goods, cut employment in state enterprises, and froze investments in infrastructure and social services.

As a result, prices of food, gasoline, and transportation rose by a third in 1983, for example. Unemployment grew to 14 percent on average throughout Yugoslavia. It grew disproportionately, however, in republics with less industrial development, like Bosnia, where joblessness hit 23 percent, or Macedonia where it reached 27 percent. In the same period unemployment shot to 50 percent in Kosovo.

This course codified the reversal of earlier policies that boosted growth in underdeveloped regions. By 1985, for example, the income of the average resident of Slovenia was 70 percent higher than that of the average resident of Macedonia; four years later, it was 125 percent more.

By 1990, economic growth was nearly negative 11 percent. In the first half of that year, inflation exceeded 70 percent and real

wages fell 41 percent. The wholehearted submission of the League of Yugoslav Communists to IMF policy further undermined social solidarity that was one of the conquests of the Yugoslav revolution of the 1940s.

By the opening of this decade, the working class in Yugoslavia found itself in a weak state, for two reasons.

First was the decades of Stalinist misrule that weakened the workers state and alienated working people from politics.

Second — due to the misleadership of the Stalinist and social democratic parties that dominated the workers movement in France, Portugal, and other countries — working people in capitalist Europe had not succeeded in taking advantage of the revolutionary openings of the late 1960s and early 1970s to alter the balance of class forces against the imperialist powers.

The revolutionary upsurge in Europe — marked by the May 1968 revolt in France, the rebellion in Italy next year, the 1974 revolution in Portugal and the downfall of the military junta in Greece that year, and the working-class struggles that led to the fall of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain in 1975 — ebbed. Workers in capitalist western Europe did not succeed in aiding in a qualitative new way their brothers and sisters in Yugoslavia during that period.

When conflicts exploded between the rival layers of the petty-bourgeois caste that governed Yugoslavia, all used nationalist demagoguery to justify maintaining under their control as much land and economic resources as they could to perpetuate their privileges and parasitic existence. They succeeded in overcoming initial working-class resistance and dragged the toilers to war. At the center of this resistance, in fact, were miners and other working people in Kosovo who led massive strikes and demonstrations in the late 1980s against austerity and for national rights of the Albanian majority in Kosovo. That's where the regime of Slobodan Milosevic began its nationalist tirades to justify Belgrade's clampdown on the anti-austerity protests.

But the flames of war had been fanned by international finance capital.

## 'Let it bleed'

At the beginning of the war — which was given an impetus to a large degree by the drive of the government of Germany to immediately recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states and then send diplomatic personnel, military advisers, and weapons to these regimes — Washington adopted a policy of "let it bleed." Let the murderous bombing of civilian areas by the rival regimes in the formerly federated Yugoslavia go on and let the capitalist powers in Europe get into the fray first. Washington encouraged its allies in the European Union, which are also its competitors, to fuel a civil war through military intervention under the cover of UN "peacekeeping" missions.

Then Washington gave partial promises that it would support "peace initiatives" led by Paris, Bonn, and others. And every time

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## The Militant

Vol. 63/No. 15

Closing news date: April 8, 1999

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Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from July to August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: TheMilitant or via Peacenet at: themilitant Internet: TheMilitant@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The Militant can be accessed on the internet at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:11/pubs/militant

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

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Washington openly sabotaged each of these agreements, before anything could be signed on the initiative of any power in the EU. That's what happened with the Lisbon agreement in 1992, the Vance-Owen plan in 1993, and the Contact Group talks in 1994.

At the same time, the U.S. rulers began reconstructing NATO on the corpses of the Yugoslav peoples, acting simultaneously to tighten the U.S. military encirclement of the workers state in Russia and other former Soviet republics and to reinforce U.S. dominance over rival capitalist powers in the Atlantic alliance.

Throughout this period, Washington attempted to give the appearance of taking the moral high ground for supposed concern for the Muslims in Bosnia, blaming the "Serbs" — all Serbs — for the slaughter.

#### Big-business press fuels war

The big-business media in the United States conveniently omitted reporting on atrocities committed by the Croatian regime if the news didn't fit U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Sometimes, the U.S. press helped directly in fueling the war through false reports. During the siege of Vukovar in Eastern Slavonia, for example — a sliver of territory in Croatia that was occupied by Belgrade in 1992 — the Yugoslav army had a hell of a time overrunning that city after a three-month bombardment. That was despite Belgrade's enormous superiority in firepower against a small and lightly armed defense guard.

Numerous desertions plagued Belgrade's army at the time, as conscripts oppose being used as cannon fodder to attack fellow toilers in Yugoslavia. Many soldiers who did not desert refused to obey orders from their superiors. They refused to get out of armored personnel carriers and fire their guns. This was part of the widespread resistance among working people in Yugoslavia to the break-up of the country, to "ethnic cleansing," and to the slaughters, for which the regimes in Serbia and Croatia were the principal culprits.

The command structure of the Yugoslav army units besieging Vukovar had broken down. This coincided with a series of large antiwar protests in Belgrade.

Toward the end of the siege, Reuters put on its wire service a false story that 41 children of Serbian origin had been massacred



Militant/Jacque Henderson  
Protest in Houston March 25 against U.S., NATO bombing. Washington has tried to dismember Yugoslavia for more than 10 years.

inside Vukovar by "bloodthirsty Croats." The source was supposedly an anonymous Yugoslav army officer. The story was immediately picked up by the state-run media in Belgrade and broadcast on television in Serbia, citing Reuters as the source to boost the credence of Milosevic's nationalist demagoguery. His regime was able to use it to dampen antiwar sentiment, mobilize new volunteers to the front, and clamp down on insubordination in the army as it flattened and took over Vukovar.

Reuters retracted the story within a day of its publication. But the damage had already been done.

#### A U.S. military ring around Yugoslavia

Washington did not simply sit on the sidelines, however, making self-serving propaganda through its media. It simultaneously laid the groundwork for eventual military intervention by U.S. troops.

This began in 1992, when the Clinton administration sent 300 troops in Macedonia, as part of the UN "peacekeeping" mission there. They were later increased to 500. Today U.S. troops are part of the 12,000-strong NATO force there.

After the pro-capitalist regime of Sali Berisha won the presidency in neighboring Albania in 1992, the U.S. government struck

a military agreement with Tirana, in exchange for economic bribes, which allowed the U.S. air force to use an air base in northern Albania for reconnaissance over Bosnia. Later, Clinton struck another agreement with the government of Hungary, which paved the way for U.S. troops to be transported on land from Germany to Bosnia as part of the 1995 NATO invasion. NATO's sixth fleet was dispatched in the Adriatic off Yugoslavia's coast and has remained a more-or-less permanent presence there ever since.

In short, Washington built an entire military ring around Yugoslavia.

Simultaneously, the White House made sure some weapons got into Bosnia during the UN arms embargo on that republic, which Washington had voted for in the UN. But Washington made sure that not enough heavy artillery was sent to the Bosnian regime of Alija Izetbegovic to tip the balance of power and endanger an outright victory for its armed forces over Belgrade.

That's what happened when Clinton encouraged Izetbegovic to launch a military offensive in the summer of 1994. The weaponry and ammunition the Bosnian army possessed was enough to enable it to conquer some ground but not to help guarantee victory.

Washington used the regime in Zagreb, Croatia's capital, for that purpose, which sifted through arms shipments and let through to Bosnia only what the U.S. rulers approved. By that time, the U.S. government had displaced Bonn in military and diplomatic influence in Zagreb.

In the summer of 1995, the Croatian government carried out a massive offensive, with Washington's green light and aid, in the majority Serb region of Krajina in Croatia. This resulted in one of the biggest "ethnic cleansing" operations in the war, displacing 150,000 people of Serbian origin from their homes and killing many in the process. This was not presented for what it was in the U.S. media, unlike similar operations by Belgrade in Bosnia.

That offensive, and the resistance by pro-Belgrade forces in Bosnia to it, set the stage for the 1995 NATO bombing in Bosnia and the signing of the Dayton accords in November of that year.

Throughout these years, Washington humiliated its competitors in France, Germany, and Britain that had sent thousands of troops to Bosnia. The French and British troops came to be increasingly seen by many in Yugosla-

via and in bourgeois public opinion in the United States as responsible for the ongoing killing to a degree, or at least as unable to bring peace and to stop the slaughter.

Why wasn't there a Madrid agreement, a Lisbon, a Paris, a Stockholm, Belgrade, or Hague agreement? Because Washington sabotaged them all. Who remembers any of these potential accords? No one. Who remembers the politicians like Carl Bildt, the former Swedish prime minister, assigned to bring them to fruition? No one. Washington humbled the authors of those plans and the powers behind them — Bonn, Stockholm, and Paris. Every time an agreement seemed close to be struck, there was another slaughter to derail it.

The bourgeois myth that the cause was "age-old ethnic hatreds," to which the Balkan people are especially and mysteriously prone to, was reinforced every time.

As failures mounted for the European occupation force in Bosnia, and as diplomatic initiatives foundered, Washington successfully pressed for U.S.-led NATO air strikes and naval and ground shelling against Serbian forces, carrying out more than 3,000 such assaults between February 1994 and September 1995.

#### Dayton and expansion of NATO eastward

After exacting much blood from the people of Yugoslavia and humbling its imperialist rivals, Washington marched the representatives of the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian forces to the Wright-Patterson Air Force base near Dayton, Ohio, and dictated the new "peace" accords. The terms of this agreement were not that different than those of the Vance-Owen plan or other similar schemes. The "peace" of Dayton was nothing but the peace of the grave.

Everyone around the world is now supposed to know of Dayton, a small city of 180,000 people in southwestern Ohio. Dayton became nothing short of a symbol of undisputed U.S. hegemony in Europe. Soon 60,000 NATO troops, led by 20,000 U.S. troops, were deployed into Bosnia and Croatia.

Dayton coincided with the announcement of the decision by the U.S. rulers to expand NATO into Eastern and Central Europe — accelerating Washington's collision course with Moscow.

During the same January 1994 NATO summit at which the U.S. administration won approval for air strikes in Yugoslavia, president Clinton initiated the proposal to expand NATO eastward closer to the borders of the Russian workers state. In March of this year, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary were admitted as new member states — barely a couple of weeks before Washington unleashed the latest military assault on Yugoslavia.

## NATO expands assault

#### Continued from front page

limited autonomy under Belgrade's rule. Either outcome would be at the expense of the fight for self-determination by the Albanian people in Kosovo.

The U.S. rulers' goals are — as they have been for the past decade in the Balkans conflict — to bolster Washington's hegemony in Europe against its imperialist rivals and to create conditions that will eventually allow them to reimpose the domination of capitalism throughout Yugoslavia.

To further its aims, the Clinton administration has used the March 31 capture of three U.S. soldiers on the Kosova-Macedonia border to try to whip up a nationalist, patriotic atmosphere inside the United States. The U.S. big-business press reported that the soldiers, part of a contingent of 12,000 NATO troops in Macedonia, looked "bruised and scarred," in a not-so-subtle effort to justify calls for stronger U.S. military assaults on Yugoslavia.

The media gave prominent coverage to yellow ribbons and U.S. flags displayed in the neighborhoods where the captured soldiers come from — East Los Angeles; Huntsville, Texas; and Smiths Creek, Michigan — to support "our boys."

U.S. president William Clinton promised continued bombing April 5. "The ethnic cleansing of Kosovo cannot stand as a permanent event," he said, declaring that Washington was involved in the conflict "for the long haul."

While posturing as defenders of the

Kosovar Albanians, the U.S. rulers have all along opposed independence for Kosova and have tried for years to strike a deal with the Milosevic regime to undermine, corrupt, and in the end defeat the struggle for national self-determination in Kosova.

#### U.S. rulers: bomb and deal

In a TV address directed to the people of Serbia right after he launched the bombing on March 24, Clinton said his administration still wanted to preserve Kosova "as part of your country." The current assault is the continuation of the decade-long campaign by Washington and its imperialist allies to dismember Yugoslavia (see article on page 2).

"We have neither a moral nor a strategic interest in the independence of Kosovo," wrote *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman in a March 30 column titled "Bomb, talk, deal."

"Our strategic interest is that Kosovo not be independent," he continued. "We do not want to be formally or implicitly obligated to Kosovo independence, because it would be an endless commitment, because it would send an unrealistic message to Basques, Kurds, and other aggrieved ethnic groups that we will support their independence, and because Albania is already a failed state. It doesn't need a twin in Kosovo."

Friedman further elaborated on this prevalent bomb-and-deal position in U.S. ruling circles in another column in the April 6 *Times*. Clinton's strategy in the Balkans "will re-

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##### U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War

Jack Barnes

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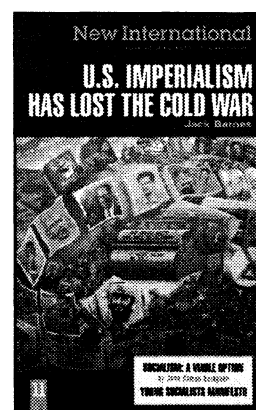
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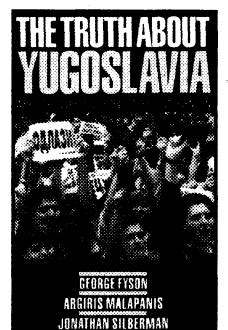
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Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention

George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis and Jonathan Silberman

Examines the roots of the carnage in the Yugoslav workers state, where the U.S. and European powers are intervening militarily to advance their competing interests. Explains how groups of would-be capitalists — fragments of the former Stalinist regime — are fighting a war for territory and resources. \$8.95



# The battle to end racial discrimination

‘We must raise wages, employment for those worst off,’ says Castro in 1959

The following speech was given at a March 22, 1959, rally in Havana.

## BY FIDEL CASTRO

Cuban workers, people of Cuba:  
We’ve gotten a little off track. It would be good for us to get our feet back on the ground.

One never knows what the most difficult public appearance will be. Whenever you consider one to be difficult, it’s not long before another surpasses it. And for me none has been as difficult as today’s, in which my ideas differ from those of our illustrious visitor, José Figueres.<sup>1</sup> [Applause]

How can we present our differences while, at the same time, showing our guest the elementary courtesy we owe him? It is difficult to speak to our people today because every revolution is difficult and complex. This public appearance becomes even more difficult when we add, on top of the country’s complex internal problems, complex international problems as well.

Our task is difficult enough without ever leaving the national territory. It is difficult because this is a real revolution, [Applause] not another farce like the many Latin America has witnessed. It is a revolution and not a barracks coup. It is a cure that goes to the root of the problem, not a simple pruning where the old evils reappear. [Applause] It is major surgery—we have to completely cut out all that is diseased, not just put bandages on.

We have big problems. A considerable proportion of those who went to the universities here did so because they were the only

<sup>1</sup> José Figueres had been president of Costa Rica from 1953–58, and was returned to power in 1970–74. He had spoken at the rally immediately prior to Castro, and had criticized Cuban revolutionaries for addressing the U.S. government “practically in the language of enemies at war.” He added, “We are democrats, Christians, and part of the Western heritage. . . . Revolutionaries in Latin America should help solve the problems, not simply aggravate them.”



Castro gave this speech to a mass rally in Havana March 22, 1959, which culminated a march of close to 1 million working people in support of the measures being taken by the revolutionary government. Above, despite the propaganda in the bourgeois press against the revolution, support was evident in this January 1959 march, which backed the popular tribunals that tried and executed several hundred of the most notorious murderers and torturers of the Batista regime.

ones who had that privilege. They went to the universities because the vested interests of the oligarchy practically had a monopoly of culture. [Applause] Because vested interests had a monopoly of the means for disseminating ideas. [Applause] Because vested interests had the power to monopolize all the resources devised by man for the purpose of influencing other men. Because vested interests were tied to the old reactionary legal system. [Applause] Because vested interests were tied to a mentality unfortunately adapted to the conditions established over decades and centuries by those vested interests. [Applause] Because the powerful vested interests of the national oligarchy and the vested interests of the international oligarchy are one and the same thing. [Applause]

## Relentless campaign against revolution

The reactionary national forces are stirring things up against the Cuban revolution. The entire reactionary oligarchy of the continent is stirring things up against the Cuban revolution. The media campaigns that emanate from the trusts and monopolies of the international press agencies have been featured in the reactionary press of Latin America. [Applause] These interests are identical to the ones in this country. They are just like those that sustained and made possible the tyranny here, just like those we are fighting against here. These interests don’t want a revolution like this one to be forged elsewhere in Latin America.

The truth is that such a huge campaign has been waged, so vile and relentless, that even men like José Figueres, who we assumed to be free of fears and prejudices, [Applause] have been influenced by it. This is how they have tried to isolate us and turn people against us throughout the entire continent. This is how they have tried to stir up the hatred of the other countries of the continent against the most moral, honest, and just revolution Latin America has known. [Sustained applause]

The newspapers of Latin America and the international wire services have said more about the execution of this or that war criminal here than they have of the entire twenty thousand murders committed by Batista.<sup>2</sup> [Applause]

What is their objective? To isolate us first and then attack us. Their aim is to weaken moral support and solidarity for us in the public opinion of the continent. Later we would be invaded using mercenary cliques; invaded from bases in the Dominican Republic or Florida, with military expeditions organized by the Trujillos or Masferrers or Venturas or Laurents.<sup>3</sup>

I’m told the people are with me, but don’t forget that the people are susceptible to deception and confusion. Don’t forget about the age-old prejudices they have instilled in the people. Don’t forget the vast resources they have to create all sorts of problems for us inside the country. Don’t forget the campaigns being carried out more or less openly against the revolution. Don’t forget — or perhaps you haven’t noticed — how some of those who in the past photographed and made drawings of the murderer Salas

## How revolutionary gov’t outlawed racist discrimination

### BY SARA LOBMAN

The speech that begins on this page was given by Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro on March 22, 1959, to a mass rally in Havana less than three months after the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. The rally culminated a march of close to a million Cuban working people to demonstrate support for the measures being taken by the revolutionary government.

In his remarks, Castro announced government policy outlawing racist discrimination against blacks in employment, one of the most important acts of the opening months of the revolution. He also announced steps to abolish racist segregation of Cuba’s beaches, public facilities, education, and recreational centers.

Africans were brought to Cuba as slaves to work the island’s sugar plantations. For nearly four centuries, under the Spanish colonial regime, they suffered the most brutal oppression. The fights to abolish slavery and win Cuba’s independence from colonial rule were interwoven from the beginning.

A large portion of the revolutionary forces in the first independence war against Spain, from 1868–78, were former slaves. This war did not win Cuba’s independence nor did it put an end to slavery in Cuba, which was finally abolished only in 1886. A second war against the Spanish colonialists was fought from 1895 to 1898. Just as the independence forces were about to win, the U.S. government, waging the first war of the imperialist epoch, entered the conflict and usurped the victory, establishing a protectorate over Cuba. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were also taken from Spain, becoming U.S. colonies.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the social and economic

conditions of the black population in Cuba resembled those of Blacks under Jim Crow segregation in the southern United States. Most lived on the land as sharecroppers or agricultural laborers on the vast sugar plantations. Those who lived in the cities were concentrated in the most physically grueling, lowest paid, and most dangerous jobs. They lived in the worst slums and had the highest levels of illiteracy and infant and maternal mortality. Their children were excluded from the private schools, even if they had money to pay, and virtually all social facilities — clubs, restaurants, beaches, and parks — were segregated.

These features of racist discrimination intensified the devastating conditions imposed on Cuban toilers by U.S. imperialist domination. In 1957, official unemployment in Cuba averaged 23.4 percent. And during the two-thirds of the year between sugar harvests, known as the “dead time,” it was far higher. Tens of thousands more were only able to find part-time work. The few women with jobs overwhelmingly worked as domestic servants, often for little but room and board.

The governments’ steps to ban discrimination in hiring and Castro’s comments in March 1959 outlining that and other measures to be implemented provoked a sharp reaction among the members of Cuba’s former ruling class and those who shared its interests. René Depestre, a Haitian exile living in Cuba, noted that while the speech was well-received by most white workers, “the white bourgeoisie in its entirety, and the white petty bourgeoisie in its majority (including the well-to-do mulattoes) . . . were seized with panic, as if the Prime Minister of Cuba had announced that an atomic bomb was to fall on the island the following morning.

“The counter-revolution,” he added in his book *Por la revolución, por la poesía*, pub-

lished in Havana in 1969, “circulated the rumor that Fidel Castro invited Black men to invade the country’s aristocratic sanctuaries,” and “very respectable white ladies left the country stating that, since Fidel Castro’s speech, Blacks had become impossible.”

In response to the initial reaction, Castro returned to this subject at a televised news conference three days later. He criticized those who “call themselves revolutionaries, but are racist” and reiterated that the revolution would continue to take steps to combat all forms of discrimination.

In the wake of Castro’s remarks, clubs, beaches, and other establishments that refused to admit blacks were closed. In April the government issued law 270 declaring all beaches and coastlines in Cuba open to the public, allowing many Cuban workers and peasants — black and white — to visit them for the first time. Discrimination in employment was made illegal.

In addition many of the early steps the revolutionary government took — slashing all rents by 50 percent, closing private, mostly church-run, schools and pouring resources into the public education system, organizing a massive literacy campaign, implementing a radical agrarian reform, making all medical care free — benefited Cuba’s poorest citizens in particular, including the disproportionate numbers of them who were black.

These measures were subsequently codified in Cuba’s socialist constitution of 1976, which explicitly states that “Discrimination because of race, color, sex, or national origin is forbidden and is punishable by law.”

This speech is published here for the first time in English. The translation is copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

<sup>2</sup> In the first weeks after the victory of the revolution, several hundred of the most notorious murderers and torturers of the Batista regime were tried by popular tribunals and shot. The executions, which had the support of the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people, were used by Washington to launch an international propaganda campaign against the new revolutionary government.

<sup>3</sup> Rafael Leónidas Trujillo was dictator of the Dominican Republic from 1930 until his death in 1961. In August 1959, backed by Washington, he organized a failed military expedition against the Cuban revolution.

Rolando Masferrer was a pro-Batista politician who organized a private army of torturers and assassins. He fled Cuba on Dec. 31, 1958, and was assassinated in Miami by rivals in 1975.

Esteban Ventura was a colonel in Batista’s police force and a notorious torturer and murderer. He fled to the United States on Jan. 1, 1959. Julio Laurent was a major in the Naval Intelligence Service under Batista responsible for the murder of captured members of the Rebel Army and of peasants.



Cañizares<sup>4</sup> today do caricatures and take photographs aimed against the revolution.

We have been too generous. There has been talk about being sensible, but I say we have been too reasonable. We have been too magnanimous, because there are people being published here who should never again have the right to be published. [Applause] It's not even three months since the triumph of the revolution, and there are people already speaking out here who should never again have the right to speak in our country. There are even some gentlemen walking the streets who — because of their praises of the dictator, because of the ink they spilled in support of that infamous tyranny, because of the damage they did to the conscience of the nation — should never again have the right to walk freely through the streets of Cuba. [Applause]

We have been too generous, and they are now using our generosity to do all the damage they can. They are beginning to make insinuations. They are trying to instill hateful ideas, vicious slanders, suspicions, and doubt. And since this is a revolution that has to harm interests — if not, it wouldn't be a revolution — it has to disentangle a lot of things and make a clean break. It is like Alexander, who with one stroke of his saber cut the Gordian knot, because there was no other way of undoing it.

The reactionary forces have powerful allies. Campaigns are already being waged, like the campaign to sow discontent by closing all the apartment buildings so that no one can rent; like the campaign to fire all the apartment building employees; like the campaign to dismiss all the girls who work as servants; like the campaigns to foment discontent in every way possible. These are carried out in unison with the international campaigns against the Cuban revolution by the wire services; in unison with the cam-

<sup>4</sup> Rafael Salas Cañizares was chief of police under Batista and a notorious torturer for the dictatorship. He was killed in 1957 during a government attack on Cuban revolutionaries who had sought refuge in the Haitian Embassy. Ten of the revolutionaries were murdered.

paigns carried out in the United States against the Cuban revolution, in conjunction with arms purchases — the purchase of planes by Trujillo, and the passage of war criminals back and forth from the Dominican Republic to Florida and from Florida to the Dominican Republic without — what a surprise! — the FBI's having yet found even a little pistol on the gangsters and criminals.

Don't forget that the reactionary forces know the psychology of our people. They know that the people were accustomed to bad governments and have a conditioned reflex against the word "government" and everything that smacks of government, a reflex that is easy to exploit. Our people suffer from an innate nonconformity that is easy to exploit. And the reactionary forces know that the problems we have in the government are enormous because we have inherited fifty years of embezzlement, immorality, graft, political favoritism, crooked politics, and corruption of every kind. They know they have handed over a republic of six million people with the same resources we were barely able to live on when there were only three million. They have handed over a republic with 700,000 unemployed, a republic with 70 million pesos in monetary reserves, whereas there were 500 million when the dictatorship took over.

They are aware of the difficult conditions in which the republic was left to us, and they know that the people are impatient. They know there is despair, misery, and hunger among the people — despair that then shows up in incidents that have no justification, as in the case of the fired bus workers. We had already put 90 percent of them back to work; there were only 60 or 70 left who were going to be reinstated in the shortest possible time. But these men, who had to wait seven years before anybody would listen to them, instead of being filled with hope when they saw that we had put 90 percent of their co-workers back to work, on the day after the most revolutionary session of the Council of Ministers that we've had, I open the newspaper only to find that some self-interested agitator had led them into a hunger strike. Somebody sowed confusion among those



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

**Assembly line at Heroes of Moncada cigar factory, Havana, Cuba, November 1994. Before the revolution blacks in Cuba were denied job opportunities. "We will carry out a campaign to end that hateful and repugnant system, with a new slogan: job opportunities for all Cubans, without race or sex discrimination."**

compatriots and led them into that action.

You can be sure that those so-called leaders were nowhere to be seen during the seven years of the dictatorship, and that there were no hunger strikes then. Yet they stirred one up against the revolutionary government — people who have only had to ask, in order to receive whatever they wanted — against a revolutionary government that earned the hatred of the oligarchy from the first instant because of its determined stand in defense of the dispossessed and poor classes of the country. [Applause]

#### Need determined support of entire people

If that is the case, if the reactionary national oligarchy has the means to create economic difficulties for us; if the international oligarchy, the enemy of our country, has the power to create economic difficulties for us — like the plan to cut our sugar quota, which we can glimpse on the horizon<sup>5</sup> — if

both the national and international oligarchy have the means to sabotage our industrialization program, then I'm not far off in saying that the revolution will have to confront great difficulties and that we need the most determined support of the entire people. [Applause]

We need the most determined and complete spirit of sacrifice on the part of the entire people because today the enemy has the advantage of all the evil it has sown. The

<sup>5</sup> The sugar quota, first established in 1934 to benefit U.S. sugar producers in the aftermath of the 1929 Depression, was the amount of Cuban sugar allowed by Washington to be sold in U.S. markets. At the time of the revolution, sugar production constituted about one third of Cuba's total national income and sugar exports represented about 80 percent of her export trade. In July 1960 the U.S. government eliminated the quota and banned all imports of sugar from Cuba.

# Series marks key steps by Cuban revolution

BY MIKE TABER

This is the fourth piece in a series that will appear in the *Militant* each month throughout 1999 celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The series features speeches by central leaders of the revolution marking key turning points and major accomplishments as the workers and farmers of Cuba pressed ahead in the opening years of the revolution, defending their interests against the capitalists, landlords, and imperialist rulers in the United States.

The revolutionary struggle that toppled the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959, was led by the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army commanded by Fidel Castro. These organizations had mobilized Cuba's toilers to bring down the bloody regime, throw off the yoke of Yankee economic and political domination, and initiate radical land reform. Also opposing Batista were substantial bourgeois forces, most of whom did little to bring down the dictatorship but were energetic in seeking to block the Rebel Army's victory.

When it became clear this could not be prevented, these forces — in league with Washington — set their hopes on buying off and corrupting the revolutionary leadership. They confidently expected to engineer the sequence of events often seen elsewhere in Latin America throughout the 20th century: that the July 26 Movement's program would remain only a piece of paper, while in practice the interests of Washington and of Cuba's landlords and capitalists would be secure. Eventually, they anticipated, the situation would "stabilize" enough so that the bearded rebels could be discarded altogether and more reliable political and military forces reinstated.

They were wrong. From the beginning, Washington and its Cuban bourgeois soul mates underestimated the political caliber, class firmness, and repeated bold initiatives of the leadership forged by the Rebel Army, and the determination of Cuba's workers and farmers to defend their interests.

The first government that came to power in January 1959 was a coalition of the revolutionary forces led by the July 26 Move-

ment and bourgeois opposition figures, among them the new president, Manuel Urrutia. Fidel Castro remained commander-in-chief of the Rebel Army. He had no position in the new government.

The July 26 Movement and Rebel Army forces under Castro's leadership, both inside and outside the government, continued to mobilize the toilers to carry out the program they had fought for. As the revolution deepened, Fidel Castro became prime minister in mid-February. Among the measures decreed by the government in early 1959 and implemented in practice by the Rebel Army at the head of the workers and farmers vanguard were the dismantling of the military and police forces of the Batista regime; the eradication of the extremely profitable U.S.-dominated gambling and prostitution operations; the outlawing of racist discrimination in hiring and social services; and the slashing of rents and prices for other basic goods and services, such as telephone and utility rates, that consume most workers' income.

Most decisively, in May 1959 an agrarian reform law was implemented. Millions of acres of large landed estates held by U.S. and Cuban ruling-class families were confiscated, and hundreds of thousands of peasants received title to the land they worked. To implement the land reform, the new government established the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) and Castro was named INRA's president.

These measures provoked a sharpening class polarization inside Cuba, including within the coalition government. During the summer and fall of 1959, as the land reform advanced, Washington's economic and military hostility escalated. As Cuban workers and peasants responded, they deepened their determination to defend their gains and realize their dreams. Under popular pressure, the representatives of capitalist forces resigned from the government one after the other. These included Urrutia, who was replaced as president by Osvaldo Dorticós, a prominent lawyer with ample credentials as an anti-imperialist and anti-Batista fighter and a member of the July 26 Movement.

The July 26 Movement as well as other

groups that participated in the fight against Batista were profoundly affected as procapitalist forces split away. More than a few joined armed counterrevolutionary organizations.

By November 1959, the last of the bourgeois forces had left the government. Washington launched a full-scale political, economic, and military campaign to overthrow the workers and farmers government.

From August to October 1960, in direct response to the escalating U.S. attacks, Cuba's working people mobilized by the millions to support and implement government decrees nationalizing the factories, refineries, mills, and other holdings of U.S.- and Cuban-owned corporations. The domination of capital was broken and the foundations laid for beginning a transition to socialism. In April 1961, the day after U.S.-organized bombing assaults on Cuban airfields and on the eve of the landing of U.S.-trained and -financed mercenary troops at the Bay of Pigs, the socialist character of the revolution was proclaimed. The invaders at the Bay of Pigs were defeated in 72 hours.

The standoff between the two irreconcilable forces represented by Havana and Washington, which continues to this day, has marked much of world politics throughout the last 40 years.

#### About this series

Most of the speeches that will be included in this series will appear in books that Pathfinder is preparing for publication. These include two volumes of speeches by Fidel Castro from the first decade of the revolution, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, and a new edition of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

The next installment in this series will be a speech given by Fidel Castro on the first anniversary of the U.S.-organized mercenary invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. In May the *Militant* will celebrate the 40th anniversary of Cuba's agrarian reform by running Fidel Castro's June 21, 1959 speech to a mass rally of peasants in Santa Clara explaining the agrarian reform of May 17, 1959, the "defining act of the Cuban

revolution." Later installments will take up the nationalization of imperialist-owned property in August 1960, the October 1962 "missile crisis," and the second agrarian reform carried out in October 1963.

Some of the speeches planned for this series have never before appeared in English. Others have been out of print for many years. *Militant* readers who are interested in helping with the translation are invited to contact Pathfinder Press at (212) 741-0690. Messages can also be sent to 73321.414@compuserve.com or mailed to Pathfinder at 410 West Street, New York 10014.

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One task of the revolution was "to turn the public grade school from the Cinderella that it is today — from a little schoolhouse that is falling apart, with no desks, and no school supplies — into a real learning center. Once they are given the necessary resources, our public schools can cease being the stepchild everyone feels sorry for, where the children of the workers, peasants, and the poor are educated, and become centers that are the envy of all and that are the best educational centers in the whole country." Above: Public school before the revolution. Right: Literacy campaign carried out at the beginning of the revolution in 1961. Below: Students today at University of Camagüey.



enemy has the advantage of all the destruction it has wrought and all the hunger it has sown. Paradoxically, the enemy has in its favor all the damage it has done to the country, because we are made of flesh and blood, ladies and gentlemen, and we are impelled by certain vital needs with scant means for satisfying them immediately.

They know they can exploit those advantages because they benefit from the desperation that exists in our country. They benefit from the vices that still predominate in the collective mentality. Proof of this is the fact that this afternoon I doubt there is a single citizen who has not written a letter asking me personally — as if I had enough time to resolve the big problems of the country — to attend to them one by one, attend to the big individual problems of our compatriots, like a whole legion of politicians did in the past. Because in the past people got accustomed to going to the politicians for help, and now that all the politicians have disappeared, they all come to me as though I could resolve all the problems they have. [Applause]

What do the vast majority ask me for? They ask me for something honest—work—because they want to earn a living by the sweat of their brow; because they want to earn a living without stealing from anyone; because they want to earn a living by their labor. And I wonder how it's possible for a citizen not to understand that if there were five hundred hours in a day, it wouldn't be enough for me to attend to all the individual problems they bring me. [Applause] I ask myself a little sadly: If they don't understand that with all the difficulties we face we can't immediately resolve all the problems yet to be tackled in the country, if they don't understand the duties of a government leader—then how could these desperate compatriots not be easy prey for people sowing confusion? How could they not be easy prey for the kind of sentiments that the campaigns of the counterrevolutionaries try to instill in them? [Applause]

#### Problems cannot be solved selfishly

I see how sometimes we try to solve our problems selfishly, how workers in one sector of the economy forget about the problems of other areas. How we forget, for example, that the entire economy is complex. How we forget that we have to go forward very carefully if we don't want to make our problems worse. And I notice that sometimes we don't take the time, we don't even go through the Ministry of Labor, which is a revolutionary Ministry of Labor. Measures are taken that don't give due consideration to a revolutionary Ministry of Labor, a revolu-

tionary CTC,<sup>6</sup> and a revolutionary government. [Applause] In a word, at times we try to rush things without taking into account the extraordinary circumstances we have to overcome and the accumulated problems facing us. If we fail, if we aren't able to carry out our plans, the only ones hurt by this are going to be the workers themselves. [Applause]

If the revolution fails for lack of help, it is the peasants and workers who will be harmed. They won't be the only ones—the entire people would suffer the consequences of the revolution's failure—but the peasants and

ers, going on and on, while the Council of Ministers had to deliberate on the revolutionary laws.

I wonder how a Council of Ministers can sit down to forge something as sensitive as these laws in the midst of constant pandemonium—such racket, turmoil, and disturbances—in the midst of demands and abusive behavior. Because I think that if such a highly respected government has been established as the one that exists today, then those who ran in the elections while we were fighting and dying in the Sierra Maestra, [Applause] those who were insensitive to the people's pain, those who even tagged along on the dictatorship's coattails for a few months as was customary here—those people have no right to be insensitive to our revolutionary tasks and to disrupt the revolution as it seeks to create for the benefit of the people. [Applause]

But sometimes it isn't these "teacher-politicians." Sometimes unfortunately it's the compañeros in some sector of the economy

will be the ones who will be hurt; if the revolution fails to go forward, it is you who will lose.

I think that the most important quality a worker should have is generosity, a spirit of solidarity with other workers. I think that the worst vice in a worker, in a man who lives by the sweat of his brow, in a man who knows what hard work is and who has known poverty, the worst defect is selfishness. And sometimes we behave selfishly.

#### Raising wages of worst-paid first

Before raising the income of workers in the best-paid sectors of the economy, the first thing we have to think about is raising the income of the worst-paid sectors. [Applause] Before thinking of raising the income of workers who make 400 pesos a month, the generous, the noble, the revolutionary thing to do, the act of solidarity, is to fight to raise the income of workers who make 60, 70, and 80 pesos a month. [Applause] Before thinking of raising the income of those who earn the most, what we have to try to do at all costs is raise the level of employment. Instead of fighting for workers earning 300 pesos to earn 350, it's our responsibility to fight for there to be 350 workers employed in those factories instead of 300. [Applause]

Our main problem right now is unemployment. Our second most important problem is that there are many sectors of the economy where incomes are much lower than the highest-paid sectors. We have to fight unemployment before all else while at the same time fighting to increase the incomes of those who earn the least. We must then fight to raise the income of the entire working class. [Applause]

Today, by lowering the cost of living, low-

workers would be hurt the most. That's why, when I have to ask for sacrifices I don't ask the big landowners, I ask the sugar workers. [Applause] When I have to ask for sacrifices, I don't ask the powerful vested interests, I ask the workers. [Applause] Because for the first time a government can speak to the peasants and workers as its friends, as its comrades, as the only ones of whom it has the right to ask sacrifices. When sacrifices from the vested interests are required, we won't ask them; we will impose the sacrifices through revolutionary laws. [Applause]

When it's a matter of asking, we ask our worker compañeros, because the republic we are forging, the country we are redeeming, will not be a paradise for vested interests. It will instead be a home where the dispossessed and poor of our country can find happiness.

That's why I say that we will have to overcome big obstacles. They will be even greater if the people don't adapt as they must to the realities of the revolution. And they will be greater still if the people forget their responsibilities; if the people forget that today's government leader is not the same as yesterday's—that if yesterday's leader was their enemy, today's leaders are their best friends. [Applause]

I meant to raise these considerations here a few days ago because everyone knows that we have meetings of the Council of Ministers on set days. Everyone knows that each meeting of the Council of Ministers produces a revolutionary law. Everyone knows, moreover, that the laws need to be studied and debated. Everyone knows that the laws need to be revised. And yet there is hardly a day the Council of Ministers meets in which there isn't a demonstration, with loudspeakers, by some sector that has a problem. This even included the case of the teachers who were dismissed for running in the last elections.<sup>7</sup> [Applause] They showed up on the last day of the Council of Ministers meeting and stayed for hours, with loudspeakers,



Granma: Juvenal Balán

who don't understand the procedure they need to follow to see the minister of labor in the appropriate office, and who don't stop to think that we need to attend to the problems of the country as a whole before addressing their particular problem in one sector of the economy. [Applause]

Unfortunately sometimes rivalries among the ranks, struggles for control of the unions, have also led the compañeros to compete to see who can ask for the most, without stopping to consider whether this is the right time to ask, whether the right time to reap the fruit of the revolution is now or later, [Applause] without stopping to consider that we can't eat the fruit before planting the seeds. [Applause]

Sometimes, unfortunately, personal desires and the zealotry of different tendencies have created complications, have stirred workers up, causing them to go beyond moderation in their demands, a moderation that they must observe in support of the revolutionary government so that we can move forward rapidly. There's a proverb that says, "Haste makes waste." At times they create problems for us instead of helping us. That's why there's a need more than ever for an understanding within the ranks of the unions.

Unity among the ranks of the union movement is more necessary than ever before. [Applause] It is necessary so that the compañeros in positions of responsibility who have the support of the union ranks can meet and study the problems correctly, intelligently, with accurate information. It is necessary so they can make appropriate and timely proposals, worked out collectively, without demagoguery and without obstructing the work of the revolution.

This is how we will go farther much more rapidly; we'll get much farther much faster. If the revolution doesn't go forward, you

ering rents, lowering telephone rates, lowering the cost of medicine and everything else we plan to lower, we will be raising the income of all workers. [Applause] On the one hand, we will focus our efforts on lowering the cost of living so that everyone's income goes up. On the other, we must work so that those who don't have a job today are able to work, and so that those who work but earn very little earn more. [Applause]

This way, while we lower the cost of living on one hand, we also raise the income of those who earn little and make it possible for those earning nothing to make a living. Today there are already sectors of the economy where the benefits of the revolution are making themselves felt. For example, in the textile industry, after contraband goods had completely disappeared and after carrying out a campaign in support of buying goods produced here, factories that had been shut down reopened at full production. [Applause] And other factories that had been operating two or three days a week are now operating every day of the week. Within a few days the plants that produce isopropyl alcohol, where production had been halted, will all be operating, with jobs for a substantial number of workers. [Applause]

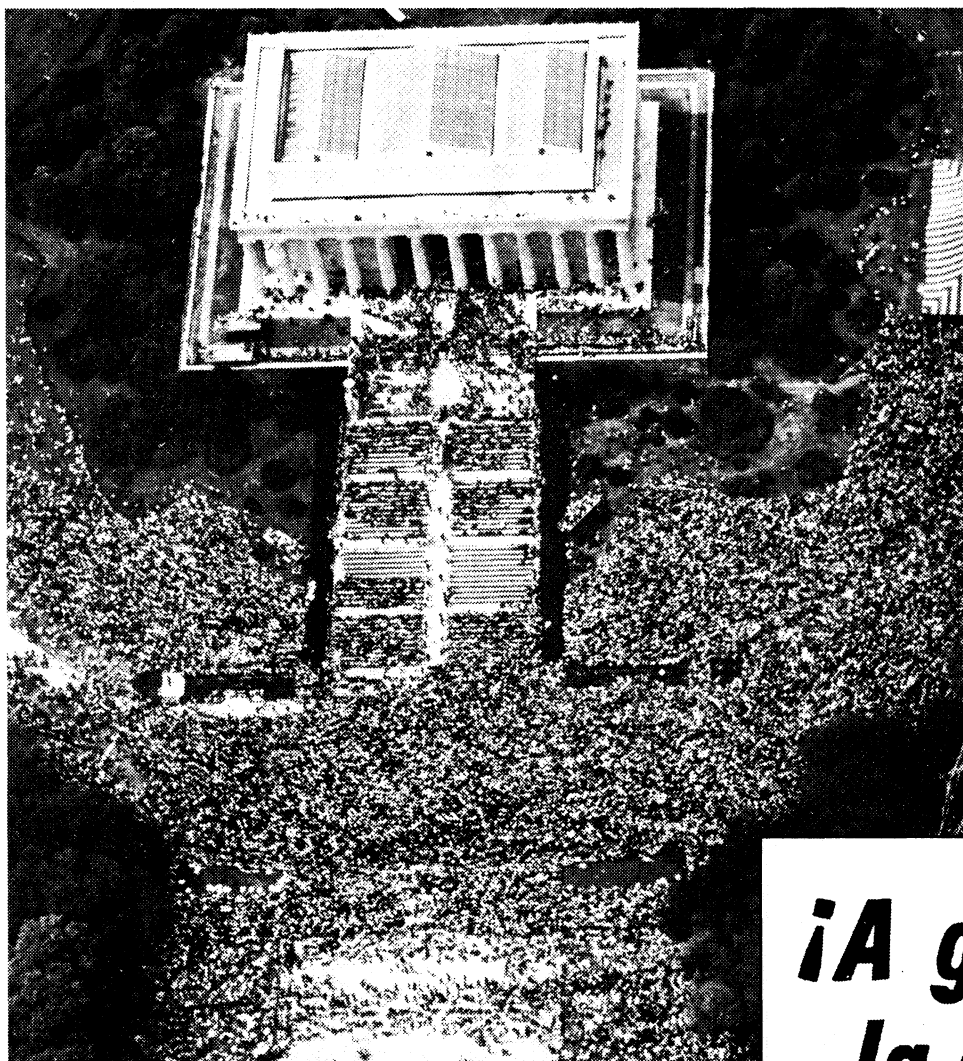
Construction stopped not because we passed the law on rents, but much earlier. There are already thousands and thousands of workers employed in public works projects however. The construction projects of the Institute of Savings and Housing are already in motion. Thousands of people are now receiving income from the sale of bonds, and although it's true that there are difficulties, that many people don't have enough money to buy them, this problem will be solved over time.

Laws have already been passed granting tax exemptions to those who build their own

<sup>6</sup> The Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC) was the main trade union federation. After the revolution it was reorganized, and was known briefly as the CTC-Revolutionary. It changed its name in 1961 to the Central Organization of Cuban Workers, also known as the CTC.

<sup>7</sup> In November 1958 the Batista regime organized general elections, in an attempt to give legal cover to the dictatorship. The July 26 Movement called for a boycott and there was massive voter abstention in response to the revolutionaries' campaign.





Castro's call for a "battle to end racial discrimination in the workplace" provoked outcry from the former ruling class. In response, Castro returned to the subject at a news conference three days later. "Let's win the battle against discrimination!" read the headline of *Revolución*, the newspaper of the July 26 Movement, on March 26, 1959, which reported on that news conference (right). Above: March on Washington, D.C., Aug. 28, 1963. In the United States huge battles for democratic rights for Blacks were taking place.

homes within the next two years. There is the law on urban reform, whose importance the people are not yet aware of.<sup>8</sup> That profoundly revolutionary law, more revolutionary than the law on rents, has scarcely been mentioned. Enacted by the last Council of Ministers meeting, under this law no land used for industrial construction, the construction of workplaces, or the construction of private housing can cost more than four pesos per square meter, anywhere in the republic.

The National Institute of Housing has the right to set new prices for all those construction lots that were divided up and sold at very high prices, without streets or sewage systems. Those paying in installments will be able to buy them for a third of the old price. And very soon twice as many construction workers will be employed than ever before in Cuba. With the Agrarian Reform, whose principal law will be passed before April 15—that is, the law on the large landed estates, [Applause] encompassing all agrarian legislation in a single law—with that law we will put an end to more than 60–70 percent of unemployment in Cuba.<sup>9</sup> [Applause] The drainage of the Zapata Swamp alone will mean that two hundred thousand workers will be able to make a living by the sweat of their brow and will no longer have to remain in the ranks of the huge legion of the unemployed. [Applause] It's not that I lack faith; I've never lacked it. It's not that I lack confidence; [Applause] I've never lacked it. But I consider it my duty to tell the people the things I'm concerned about, to tell the people how they must work alongside their revolutionary government. [Applause]

Because I see enthusiasm, boundless enthusiasm. I see solidarity, boundless solidarity with one's fellow man. And people's hearts are completely on the side of the revolution. But not everyone's thinking has developed sufficiently. [Applause] The revolutionary consciousness of the people is less

developed compared to the people's sentiments.

All the people's sentiments are revolutionary, but the people's mentality is not yet completely revolutionary. People's thinking is still conditioned by many prejudices and beliefs from the past. [Applause] If the people want to better themselves, they have to begin by recognizing this. If the people want to orient themselves correctly, they have to adopt the goals I talked about here, in terms of which battles we must win and the order we must win them in. These include the battle against unemployment; the battle to raise the wages of the lowest-paid workers; and the battle to lower the cost of living, which is one of the most just battles we have to carry out.

#### Battle to end racial discrimination

One battle we must emphasize more and more every day, which I will call the fourth battle, is the battle to end racial discrimination in the workplace. [Applause] It is the battle, I repeat, to put an end to racial discrimination in the workplace. [Applause] Of all the forms of racial discrimination the worst is that which limits black Cubans' access to jobs. [Applause] Because the truth is that in our nation, in some areas of the economy, the shameful practice has existed of excluding blacks from jobs. [Applause]

Everyone knows I am not a demagogue; everyone knows I hate demagoguery. Everyone knows I never take up a problem if I don't feel it; that I never take up an issue without doing it with complete honesty. [Applause] There are two types of racial discrimination. One is discrimination in recreational centers and cultural centers. The other is racial discrimination in the workplace. This is worse and it's the first one we have to combat. [Applause] If the first type restricts access to certain centers of recreation, the other is a thousand times more cruel because it restricts access to the workplaces where one can make a living. It limits the ability to satisfy one's basic needs. And so we commit the crime of denying work precisely to the poorest sector more than to anyone else. [Applause]

In colonial society blacks were forced to

work as slaves, to work more than anyone else, to work without any compensation whatsoever. But in today's society, which some people call democratic, we commit the crime of doing just the opposite — blacks are prevented from working to make a living. [Applause] In colonial society blacks were worked to death and beaten to death, while we starve our black brothers to death.

It should not have to be necessary to pass a law to establish a right that one should have by the mere fact of being a human being and a member of society. [Applause] It should not have to be necessary to pass a law against an absurd prejudice. Instead there should be public condemnation of men who are full of the vices of the past, the prejudices of the past, who have no qualms about discriminating against some Cubans, about mistreating some Cubans because of the darkness of their skin. These things should be anathema because all of us are more or less dark-skinned. Here one is either a little dark-skinned because he's a descendant of Spaniards — and the Moors colonized Spain and the Moors came from Africa — or more or less dark-skinned because he comes to us directly from Africa.

all whites and blacks agree to join together to put an end to the hateful practice of racial discrimination in the workplace. [Applause]

This is how we will forge the new nation, step by step. Blacks are excluded from recreational centers. Why? Because whites and blacks were sent to separate schools. But in the public grade schools whites and blacks aren't separated. In the public grade schools whites and blacks learn to live together as brothers and sisters. And if they attend school together, they can also play together afterward in recreational centers and use other facilities together as well. But when they are sent to separate schools, when the upper classes educate their children separately from blacks, it follows that whites and blacks end up not sharing cultural and recreational centers either.

#### Turn schools into real learning centers

What can we do? We can give our public schools everything they deserve. We can supply our public schools with all the resources they need — supply them not only with buildings but clothes for the children and breakfast, lunch, and, if necessary, dinner as well. We can build recreational facilities in

the public schools where whites and blacks can play together, and we can set up "clubs" — better yet, we'll change the word and call them "recreational centers" — like we're going to do at all the beaches.<sup>10</sup> We will build recreational centers at the beaches for public schoolchildren, centers where they too can amuse themselves, where they can play and enjoy the advantages our natural beauty offers and enjoy the happiness to which every child has a right. White and black children will be together as they are in the schools, [Applause] so that later, also together and as brothers, the white man and black man can work together in the same workplace.

This is one more reason to turn the public grade school from the Cinderella it is today — from a little schoolhouse that is falling apart, with no desks and no school supplies — into a real learning center. Once they are given the necessary resources, our public schools can cease being the stepchild

Continued on Page 10

<sup>10</sup> Before the revolution most beaches in Cuba were either private estates or open only to tourists and wealthy Cubans. One of the early acts of the revolutionary government — within two weeks of this speech — was to open every beach on the island to the public in April 1959.

## ¡A ganar la batalla de la discriminación!

Los ataques son de los afectados

Hay apuros en sembrar la duda

Soy enemigo de la discriminación



Convencido que es un absurdo

Trato de unir a los cubanos

Estamos contra los privilegios

**REVOLUCION** EL ESPIRITU RENOVADOR VA A SUPERAR AL TRADICIONALISTA

ORGANO DEL MOVIMIENTO 26 DE JULIO  
Año 2 CINCO CENTAVOS La Habana, Jueves, 26 de Marzo de 1959 No. 94  
DIRECTOR: CARLOS FRANQUI

But nobody can consider themselves racially pure, much less racially superior. [Applause]

For the same reason, therefore, that it has not been necessary to pass laws or sanctions in order to organize and carry out a campaign to buy products made in this country, in the same way we will put an end to racial discrimination in the workplace. We will carry out a campaign to end that hateful and repugnant system, with a new slogan: job opportunities for all Cubans, without race or sex discrimination. Let us put an end to racial discrimination in the workplace. Let

day — from a little schoolhouse that is falling apart, with no desks and no school supplies — into a real learning center. Once they are given the necessary resources, our public schools can cease being the stepchild

## Cuba's Internationalism

HOW FAR WE SLAVES HAVE COME!  
NELSON MANDELA  
FIDEL CASTRO

### How Far We Slaves Have Come!

South Africa and Cuba in Today's World  
NELSON MANDELA, FIDEL CASTRO

Speaking together in Cuba in 1991, Mandela and Castro discuss the unique relationship and example of the struggles of the South African and Cuban peoples. Also available in Spanish. \$8.95

### Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy, 1975–80

FIDEL CASTRO  
Castro discusses the historic importance of the anticapitalist revolutions in 1979 in Grenada and Nicaragua; Cuba's internationalist missions in Angola and Ethiopia; relations with the U.S. government and with Cubans living in the United States; the fight within the Non-aligned Movement to forge a front of struggle against imperialist exploitation; and the proletarian internationalism that has guided the foreign policy of the Cuban government since the 1959 revolution. \$20.95



<sup>8</sup> Castro is referring to the law approved by the Council of Ministers on March 6, 1959, lowering rents for all Cubans by up to 50 percent. This measure was an antecedent to the urban reform law of October 1960. That measure gave all Cubans either outright ownership of their dwellings or permanent use of them with a monthly fee not to exceed 10 percent of their income.

<sup>9</sup> The first Agrarian Reform Law, which was signed into law on May 17, 1959, will be the subject of the May installment in this series.

# SWP convention: turn more deeply to trade union struggles and working class

## Delegates discuss recruitment to party, fight against U.S. war in Balkans

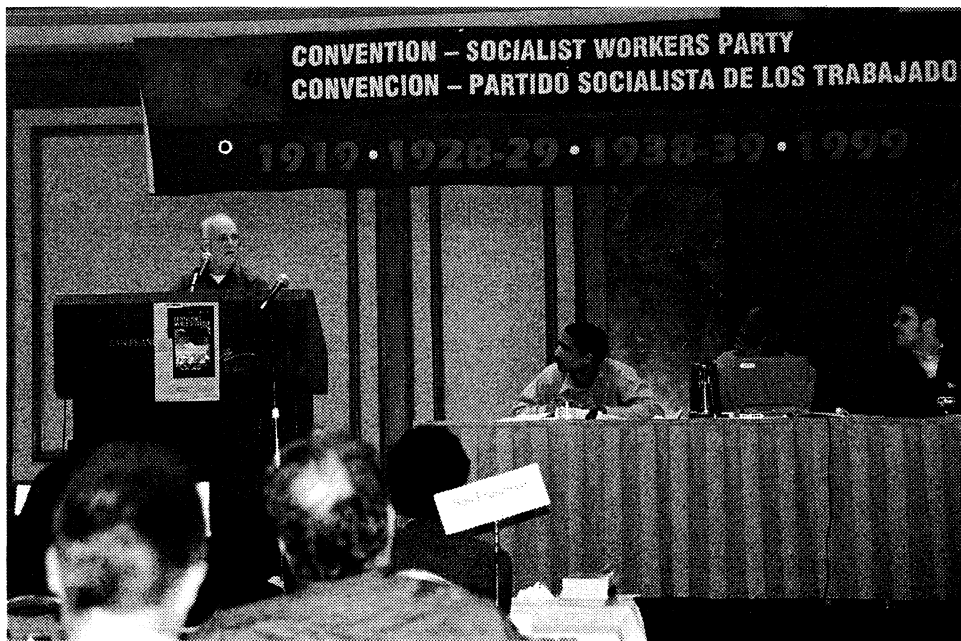
BY GREG McCARTAN

SAN FRANCISCO — "We are seeing an accelerated drive by Washington to establish a nationalist and patriotic atmosphere in the United States today," said Jack Barnes at a rally here reporting on the decisions of the 40th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held here April 1-3. Barnes is the party's national secretary.

President William Clinton is "continuing in the tradition begun with Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s of liberal Democratic administrations taking the lead in war preparations." The assaults in the Balkans are carried out on the pretext of "saving the world from instability brought about by peoples referred to in racial or tribal terms," he said.

These war moves are "combined with the beginnings of a campaign to justify the armed forces taking on policing functions against working people at home," the SWP leader said. "The Clinton administration has proposed establishing, for the first time in peacetime, a North American military command, explicitly targeting domestic supporters of 'terrorists' sponsored by 'rogue states' around the world. They are carrying out military exercises in cities across the country, including right across the bay in Oakland — 'Operation Urban Warrior.'"

"They are determined to start taking back the space the working class has to practice politics." But in order to do so, Barnes said, "they have to take on and defeat the working class in the United States, which they will not be able to do without major class battles." The communist movement "doesn't promise victory. It offers each of us the opportunity to fight. It offers us the possibility to build the only kind of organization in which workers can open the road to trans-



SWP national secretary Jack Barnes (left) addresses delegates during 40th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which took place April 1-3.

forming the world, and in the process transform ourselves."

The central focus of the three-day convention was recruiting to and building the Socialist Workers Party through deepening participation in the fight against imperialist war, and in the strikes, protests, and other actions of workers and farmers resisting the employers' offensive. Growing layers of workers, farmers, and youth are open to drawing socialist conclusions and joining a communist organization.

Convention delegates discussed and adopted three documents submitted to the

party membership by the SWP National Committee. These were the preface to the new book *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, by Jack Barnes; "A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics," the opening chapter of *Capitalism's World Disorder*, and the new preface to *The Changing Face of U.S. Poli-*

tics, first published in the Spanish-language translation of that book, *El rostro cambiante de la política en Estados Unidos*.

These documents were available to the party membership in an internal *Discussion Bulletin*. Discussions were organized in party branches on these and other documents. The three documents were also published in the *Militant*, and party branches organized a parallel pre-convention discussion with a number of interested workers, farmers, and young socialists.

There were 42 delegates and 26 alternate delegates elected from branches and a state convention in Illinois. There were 47 fraternal delegates, including members of the National Committee, a delegation from the leadership of the Young Socialists, and from communist leagues in Australia, Canada, France, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Seventy of the delegates work in factories and mills and belong to industrial unions; 10 were members of the YS.

Delegates and guests left the convention on a footing to build broad participation in an active workers conference in Ohio, August 5-8. As members of the SWP and Young Socialists participate in struggles and carry out political campaigns over the next four months, they will be alert to the opportunities to bring as many fighting workers, farmers, and youth as possible with them to this summer gathering to exchange experiences, extend active solidarity, and discuss books

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## 'Stand up, fight, and be counted'

BY BETSEY STONE

SAN FRANCISCO — Much of the discussion at the Socialist Workers Party Convention in San Francisco April 1-3 focused on the need to take advantage of growing openings for winning new forces to the communist movement.

The potential was reflected in the convention itself, in the number of participants attending an SWP convention for the first time, and in the participation of young people, many of them members of the Young Socialists, in convention discussions, classes, and workshops. In the course of the convention, five Young Socialists decided to join the Socialist Workers Party and its sister communist leagues in Sweden and New Zealand.

The YS in the United States also added to their ranks during the convention, with four people asking to join — a young worker and three students. Other Young Socialists, including high school students graduating this spring, discussed plans to become part of the industrial workforce and unions so they can begin to participate directly in the working-class resistance that is growing today.

Elena Tate, a high school senior and member of the Young Socialists from Boston, explained why involvement of youth in workers' struggles is key to building the socialist movement. "There is a force that can change society — the working class — and it is a very important thing when you begin to think of becoming part of that force," she said.

She commented that seeing workers in action on the UPS picketlines in August 1997 first won her to join the Young Socialists.

Later she got involved with health-care workers on strike for a better contract in Boston.

Tate emphasized, "One thing that echoed in the convention was the idea that what you do makes a difference in the world. The name of one of the reports was 'Stand Up, Act, Fight, and Be Counted.' If there is a job action, or strike, you can make a difference."

Ana Chávez, a student at the University of California at Santa Cruz, has been a member of the Young Socialists for eight months. She reported that the YS chapter at the University of California in Santa Cruz organized to discuss "A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics," one of the convention documents that describes the growing resistance by working people and the end of the near-decade of working-class retreat in the 1990s.

"I have not been part of the retreat, so I don't see the change so much," she said, "I just see what's happening now."

Chávez pointed to the activism of students in support of the strawberry workers in the region around Santa Cruz and against California state propositions attacking bilingual education and affirmative action.

Rick Walker, a former Eastern Airlines striker who is now a baggage handler and member of the Transport Workers Union at American Airlines, met with some of the youth at the convention to discuss the changes he has seen in union struggles since 1991 when the 686-day strike at Eastern ended. "I think it's accurate that we see more fights today," Walker explained. "Nobody could have anticipated the American Airlines pilots' sickout. An action like that would not have happened five years ago."

Another convention participant, César Guerrero, is a member of the International Association of Machinists working for a contractor at the Los Angeles airport. He first approached airline workers in the Socialist Workers Party a few months ago as a struggle at his own workplace began to heat up.

He is anxious to get more deeply involved with all the activities of the Socialist Workers Party. He was impressed by "how serious the delegates were, how well-organized, and that people came from all over the world." He added he especially liked the point on the agenda about the importance



Participants attending their first SWP convention meet to discuss the proceedings

of accurate translations in building an international socialist movement.

Gustavo Herrarte joined the Young Socialists at Iowa State University two months ago. He pointed out that the convention discussion will help the Young Socialists to organize more effectively against the U.S. and NATO

assaults on Yugoslavia and for the national rights of Kosovar Albanians. He concluded, "The most important thing for me coming out of the convention is that I'm convinced that building communism is a necessity."

Emily Fitzsimmons contributed to this article.

## COME TO AND BUILD AN Active Workers Conference

August 5-8, 1999

Growing numbers of working people are reaching out to others in struggle, as the employers and their government deepen their offensive against toilers around the globe. This conference will be an opportunity for workers, farmers, and young people involved in such social struggles to exchange experiences and learn from each other, and from the past lessons of the workers movement. It will be a place to gain information needed to broaden solidarity with others whose struggles are charting a way forward for working people in the United States and internationally.

Workshops ♦ Classes ♦ Feature Reports ♦ Books & Pamphlets  
♦ Information Tables ♦ Recreation ♦ Socials & Fun

### DISCUSSIONS WILL INCLUDE:

Labor Battles ♦ Farmers' Struggles ♦ Actions Against Police Brutality ♦ Women in Industry ♦ The Fight for National Self-Determination and Against Imperialism and War ♦ The Continuity of the Communist Movement and the Fight for Socialism ♦ The Cuban Revolution ♦ Building an Alliance of Workers and Farmers

For more information, see listings on page 12.

The conference will be held  
on the Oberlin College  
campus, Oberlin, Ohio.

Sponsored by:  
**Socialist Workers Party  
Young Socialists**

Support the  
**Socialist Workers Party  
PARTY-BUILDING  
FUND**

April 15 - June 15

To make a contribution, contact the  
SWP branch nearest you (see addresses  
on page 12), or send your contribution  
to the Socialist Workers Party,  
406 West St., New York, NY 10014.



# Convention launches campaign to sell 1,000 more of 'Capitalism's World Disorder'

Continued from front page

some of the initial experiences socialist workers have had selling the book on the job, since adopting quotas to sell 500 copies to their co-workers and through political work in the union fractions by May 31.

The convention launched a broader campaign through the party branches to sell an additional 1,000 copies by the same date. This campaign was a point of discussion at a workshop on "Branch and fraction sales campaigns for *Capitalism's World Disorder* and the *Militant* as we step up mass work." Over the next week, branches of the party will be adopting quotas for sales of the book, including through local work in the trade unions, for a total of 1,500. Chapters of the Young Socialists and supporters of the communist movement where there is no party or YS unit are also encouraged to take goals and join in the effort.

The discussion at the workshop made clear how broad the possibilities for this effort are, as one speaker after another described the response they've gotten from co-workers and others.

From Los Angeles, April Holland explained the importance of political attention to selling the book at the Militant Labor Forum, a weekly series hosted in Pathfinder bookstores across the country. "The very first thing you see when you enter the bookstore is an attractive display of the new book — you can't miss it. Last week we sold seven at the forum on Malcolm X and the Black liberation struggle today." She noted that how to confront the economic crisis squeezing workers and farmers in Mexico is an important discussion among students at universities in the region. The chapters of *Capitalism's World Disorder* titled "So Far from God, So Close to Orange County: The Deflationary Drag of Finance Capital" and "Youth and the Communist Movement" help answer these questions, Holland said.

Tom Headley, a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union, reported on four copies of the book he sold to co-workers in Washington, D.C. "As with sales in general," Headley explained, "it's important to listen to what people are saying. Then think about it, and relate it back to them in terms of the book. My discussions that led to sales, or future sales, have been very wide ranging — from the war in Yugoslavia to Cuba to the protest at the Academy Awards of the Oscar to Elia Kazan."

In each case, Headley was able to point to sections of the book that helped to illuminate the questions on co-workers' minds. "On Yugoslavia, I said this book explains who is seeking to get what out of the conflict." A fifth book was sold by a team of socialist

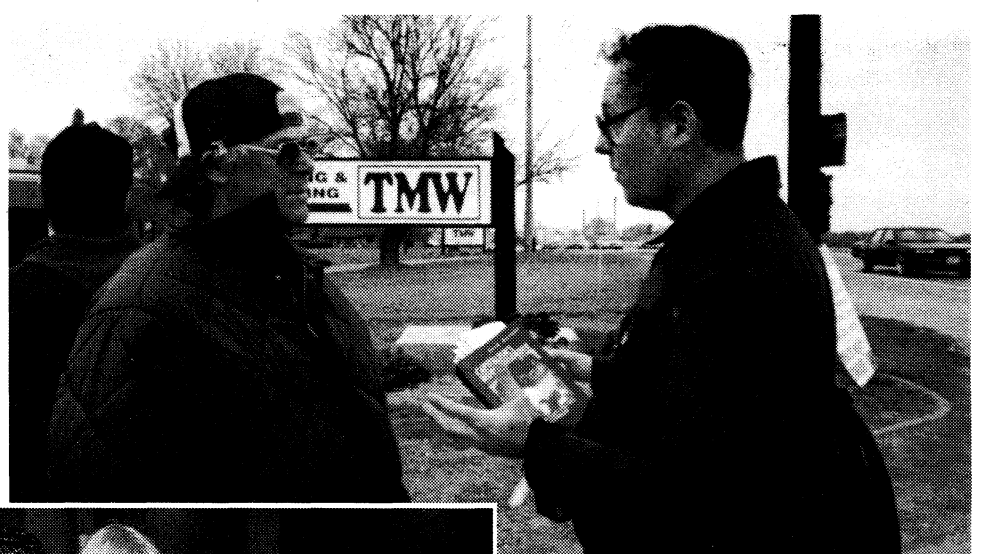
workers that sell at the train station every week. As a result, Headley has been able to follow up on the sale with discussions about the book.

One worker from London said five of his co-workers have bought copies of *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*, and was confident they would be interested in *Capitalism's World Disorder*. All of them have been involved in showing solidarity for striking SkyChefs workers at Heathrow airport.

Frank Forrestal reported that a supporter of the SWP in Erie, Pennsylvania, recently bought five copies of the book to distribute in his area at a meeting of party supporters in Pittsburgh. He has already sold two.

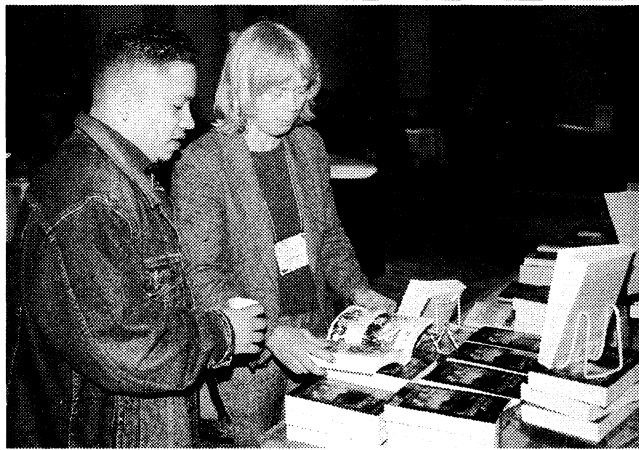
Following that meeting two other party supporters in Pittsburgh began planning to visit commercial bookstores. As an initial result of their work, a university bookstore placed an order for 14 titles, including two copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and one each of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and *New International No. 11*, featuring "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War." There are clearly many possibilities to get commercial bookstores to carry this title.

Working farmers are interested in the book too. Eight farmers from Brooksville, Florida, drove 300 miles to attend a Militant Labor Forum in Miami on the 10th anniversary of the Eastern Airlines strike. "We sold one copy



Militant/Joshua Carroll

Above, *Capitalism's World Disorder* becomes part of discussion among workers who were participating together in union solidarity rally in Pekin, Illinois. Left, participants at SWP convention discuss Pathfinder's newest book.



Militant/Carole Lesnick

of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and one *Militant* subscription," said Rachele Fruit, a member of the IAM in Miami.

Following the discussions at the SWP convention, Arlene Rubinstein reports selling two copies, for a total of three, of *Capitalism's World Disorder* to co-workers at Northwest Airlines in Atlanta. The first was to Pete, a mechanic who is Black and well known as an antiracist fighter. Rubinstein reports, "Less well known are some other important views that he holds."

"I was in Korea and against that war. I opposed Vietnam and I'm against Yugoslavia — which is also a war," Pete explained. "Nothing gives the U.S. government the right to draw a line somewhere in another people's country and then dictate how they should act and what their relations should be on either side of the line." In addition to buying the book, Pete became a member of

the Pathfinder Reader's Club to take advantage of the club's discounts.

"I need this book," was the response of another worker who bought the book, a mechanic born in Ethiopia. "Last week he bought a copy of the *Militant* after we talked about Yugoslavia and this week I showed him the book," reports Rubinstein. "He was attracted to the comprehensive world analysis in the book. We also looked up 'Ethiopia' in the index. The cited passage explains that World War II was really three wars in one: an interimperialist war, a war against the workers states, and a war by the colonial peoples — especially of Ethiopia — for their independence. After reading that, he made up his mind to buy the book."

Rubinstein and a third worker plan to read the book together.

As was reported in last week's *Militant*, a team of Salm Kolis, Linn Hamilton, and Frank Forrestal in Pittsburgh are organizing coverage for the *Militant* of the campaign to sell *Capitalism's World Disorder* in the unions, including compiling the weekly chart. Quotas and results for book sales in local areas, as well as articles on the sales campaign, should be sent to the *Militant*.

## Pathfinder Capital Fund gets \$70,300 boost

BY NAOMI CRAINE

SAN FRANCISCO — "The capital fund for Pathfinder's printshop has gotten a big boost over the last three days," reported

Dave Prince, director of the fund, at the rally following the close of the Socialist Workers Party convention here April 3.

The \$70,300 raised during the conven-

tion and rally kicks off the new stage in the fund — raising the \$250,000 needed to carry out a major upgrade of the press room in Pathfinder's printshop. Over the previous nine months supporters of Pathfinder have given capital contributions of more than \$700,000.

This tremendous response made it possible to install a computer-to-plate system that eliminates the labor-intensive work of strip up, saving labor time and costs for producing books and making it possible to have a smaller shop.

The new contributions came from 14 people, six of them industrial workers who gave profit sharing and other "bonuses" — blood money offered by the bosses as part of concession contracts — for a total of \$9,150. Other contributions ranged from \$1,000 to \$19,000.

To find out how you can make a contribution, write to the Capital Fund Committee, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

## Convention classes spur book sale

BY KAREN RAY

SAN FRANCISCO — Participants at the 40th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party snapped up 59 copies of the just reprinted pamphlet *Coal Miners on Strike*.

The pamphlet was first printed in 1981 and is a compilation of articles from the *Militant* coverage of the 111-day strike by the United Mine Workers of America 1977-78 and the miners' 1981 contract fight. It was reformatted and designed by volunteers after being out of print for many years, because some of the miners who struck Freeman Coal Co. and other workers supporting that fight found it a useful tool for today.

The best sales of Pathfinder books came after a series of classes on the last day of the convention. Following the class by Steve Clark titled "Trade Unions in the Transitional Epoch: Comintern Strategy and the Turn," participants bought 13 copies of the *Transitional Program for the Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky.

A total of 18 copies of that title, which was offered at a special price of \$9.50, were sold, many of them to young people. For some convention participants this will be the first time they have read the book.

Following the class "Farrell Dobbs's Teamster Series and New Trends in Working-Class Politics Today" three people bought sets of the four-book series about the 1930s strikes and organizing drive that transformed the Teamsters union in Minnesota and much of the Midwest into a fighting industrial union movement.

Another big seller at the convention was

of 16 copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*. Most were sold at the closing rally, as nearly everyone attending the convention already had a copy.

Other books sold included five copies of the new edition of *El rostro cambiante de la politica en Estados Unidos*, the improved translation of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Jack Barnes.

Six people bought copies of *The Truth About Yugoslavia* and four picked up the pamphlet *Che Guevara and the Imperialist Reality*.

### MARK YOUR CALENDAR Upcoming Labor and Farm Actions

**Mon. April 12**  
**Fighting Farmers Gather at Consent Decree Meeting**  
Agricenter International, Memphis, Tennessee

**Sun., April 18**  
**Farm Worker Organizing Rally**  
Salinas, California

**Sat., April 24**  
**Iowa State-wide Meeting for Immigrant Rights**  
Conference. Perry, Iowa  
For more information call: (515) 274-4851; or (712) 234-0418

**New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal! End the Death Penalty!**

March and Rally. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
For more information call: (215) 476-8812; Fax: (215) 476-7551

**Solidarity Rally for Kaiser Workers**  
Newark, Ohio

**Sat., May 1**  
**Rally for Locked-Out Crown Oil Workers**  
Pasadena, Texas  
For more information call: (713) 475-9560

**Rally for striking United Steelworkers of America at Titan Tire**  
Des Moines, Iowa  
12:00 p.m. 2727 East Market  
For more information call: (515) 262-4935

### CAMPAIGN TO SELL 'Capitalism's World Disorder' IN THE UNIONS March 15 - May 31

	Goals	Sold
UAW	75	22
UTU	80	13
IAM	110	13
PACE	15	1
(in Houston)		
UFCW	80	5
UNITE	70	2
USWA	80	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>58</b>

IAM—International Association of Machinists; PACE—Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers; UAW—United Auto Workers; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA—United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union

# Continued from Page 7

everyone feels sorry for, where the children of the workers, peasants, and the poor are educated, and become centers that are the envy of all and that are the best educational centers in the whole country.

Why shouldn't the children of the people have the right to also enjoy the best, to enjoy what only the children of certain social sectors have enjoyed until now? That will be one of our tasks, just as we will build hospitals to which everyone will have the right to go, that will be as good as the best private hospitals, and where it will not be necessary to ask a politician for a letter of recommendation in order to be able to go to the hospital. The only recommendation required will be the need to receive health care. For the same reason we will also build universities. Within a few weeks there will be three university centers under construction, all at the same time. [Applause]

We will get beaches ready for the people. [In answer to someone in the audience:] The Viriato beach is nothing compared with the ones we are going to give the people. The one at Viriato belongs to the past. It reflects the aspirations of the past. We're talking about much more than the beach at Viriato. We're talking about the beach at Varadero, to which the people will also have the right to go. [Applause] Let's talk about the one at Santa María del Mar and the one at Tarará, where the people will also have the right to go. [Applause] What's this about the beach at Viriato? What epoch are we living in? The beach at Viriato will be just another little beach.

We are going to open all the beaches to the people, Cuba's best beaches. We will set up a national organization of public beaches that will even have luxury hotels for workers. Those who pay for luxury will be charged more, and workers will be charged that much less. [Applause] Public school-children will be charged less. Teachers, who will also have their own recreational centers, will be charged less.

The seventy houses in Varadero built with embezzled funds will be given to the National Administration of Public Beaches, and we will rent them to those who want to pay a high price for them. We will use that money to pay those in charge of operating the National Administration of Public Beaches, which will have hotels and restaurants that will be available to the people at cost. We are not only going to give them beaches, we're going to give them restaurants where you can buy a steak for a third of what they charge you now everywhere. [Applause. Voices are heard: "The buses, transportation."]

We'll see what we can do about the fares, because all the means of transportation are in a state of financial ruin and money is pretty tight right now. If our financial situation were better, it wouldn't be difficult at all to subsidize transportation and simply lower the fares. The problem is that we have

inherited a transportation system in a state of financial ruin: rail transport, air transport, city transportation. The truth is that money is a little tight and we can't easily resolve the problem of lowering the fares. But I think with time we will succeed in doing it without sacrificing the job of a single worker and without sacrificing any of the conquests of the workers, who marched here today in

symbol because more than ourselves it will be our children who will reap the fruits of the sacrifices that we are all making today. [Applause]

Maybe we were never carried on our parents' shoulders in a demonstration when we were children. We were raised without hope; we grew up without hope. Those who came before us sowed nothing but pain and tears

where it has civil defense plans and atomic bomb shelters. We, on the other hand, who have military bases here, don't have even a miserable little hole to climb into in case of an atomic bomb attack. [Applause] Why not say that while they toy with the dangers of war, we are defenseless, we are in a position to be massacred, without any hope?

## U.S. government armed Batista

Why not tell the truth about these things? Why not say moreover that having come to the Cuban people for help in all their wars, when the wars were over, Cuba's sugar quota was cut and they trampled on the Cuban people? Why not say that they came to us for help in hard times, but in peacetime we have suffered nothing but injustices? Why not say that we have already endured the hardships of war? Why not say that in the name of solidarity they dropped six-hundred-pound bombs on us? Why not say that in the name of solidarity they armed the dictator? When Somoza's assassins invaded Costa Rica, the United States sent Costa Rica two or three P-51s dirt cheap, but here the opposite happened. They sent Batista tanks and airplanes dirt cheap to fight against the people.<sup>12</sup>

Why not say that the aggressions that concern us right now do not in fact come from another continent? Why not say that the attacks that concern us could come from mercenaries, from the beaches of Florida and the Dominican Republic? Because every country has its problems and we have our own problems to deal with. Don't dump



Top: Henry Wallace; right: Granma Archives

Before the revolution only the rich had access to a good education, health care, and recreation. Now they are rights that belong to all workers and farmers in Cuba. "We are going to open all the beaches to the people, Cuba's best beaches. We're talking about the beach at Varadero, to which the people will also have the right to go." Above, public beach in Havana, 1960s. Right, party in whites-only country club in 1955, before revolutionary victory.



support of agrarian reform, alongside thirty-four tractors. [Applause] The workers at COA [Cooperative Bus Alliance] have shown extraordinary generosity and a tremendous revolutionary spirit that has won them the solidarity of the people despite the traditional conflicts between passengers and transportation workers. [Applause] They marched today with such enthusiasm that, with these tractors, they really moved us all.

So these are the things we are going to accomplish here. We are going to build schools, hospitals, recreational centers, and housing. In the future there will not be a single citizen, a single family that doesn't have their own house. [Applause] We are going to do this — in addition to the agrarian reform, which will mean the happiness of our peasants, in addition to industrialization of the country — if the people help us now, if the people understand our situation. If we had 500 million pesos in reserves like there were on March 10,<sup>11</sup> we could immediately undertake a plan to invest 750 million pesos in new industry. But since our reserves are virtually at rock bottom and since we need to strengthen them — the worst thing that could happen to us would be the devaluation of the currency — we have to make a big effort to raise capital for industry. This, along with agrarian reform, will make it possible to completely eradicate unemployment in our country.

for us, nothing but bitterness and misery, nothing but tragedy and mourning, tyranny and corruption, nothing but despair. We have suffered the consequences of this; we have suffered from all these misfortunes. And I see in every desperate man who approaches me, in every mother who cries because she says it has been three days since she has brought home bread to her children, the fruit of the cursed seed sown in our past.

That's why I am filled with emotion when I see those children on the shoulders of their parents. I think of the generosity of this generation that is sowing a better future for its children. Let it not be our own fault, our lack of consciousness, our age-old prejudices, our lack of maturity, that frustrates the future we are sowing for our children!

They will say that the future is uncertain. They have already told us that the future is uncertain here. It really is sad to think that with atomic bombs they can destroy dreams that embody humanity's greatest aspirations, the very essence of mankind's greatest sentiments — the paradise we want to create for our children. It's really painful and sad to think that in one fatal second with a single hydrogen bomb they can destroy all the houses we might build with such hope. It's really sad to think that all of a people's dreams could unfortunately be destroyed because of a failure to comprehend each other, because of the conflicts in the world, because we might reach the day when our species would commit suicide through atomic war. It really is sad.

But why spread pessimism in the face of this, much less be resigned to it? Why say that faced with this tragedy, we must join one of the camps? Why say that all of Latin America has to support one of the camps? [Applause] Why not proclaim our right to live, even though they might kill us? Why not proclaim our right to live, even if they might destroy us? Why not tell the whole truth here? Why not say that one of those powers has military bases here and is preparing to defend itself in its own country,

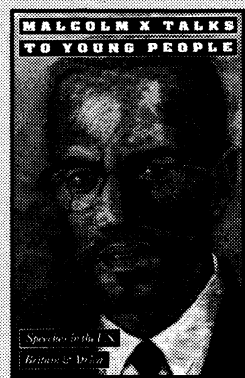
other countries' problems on us! [Applause] So we can be destroyed — so what? Should we let them humiliate us? Should we live on our knees? Why? [Applause]

This much is true in any event: sooner or later we are all going to die. The truth of the matter is that every day a lot of people die. Some die of heart disease, others because they are run over by a car, others in an epidemic or of hunger, as many have died here. The biggest danger we have faced — more than danger, the reality we have confronted — is the number of children and women, in the countryside above all, who have died from lack of food, medicine, and medical care. The trouble is that here the poor have never had the chance to speak. The poor had to read what others wrote about them from a great distance. And there were never any statistics on the women and children who died because they lacked doctors or medicines. According to our calculations, the selfishness and exploitation of the big trusts and wealthy interests have killed more Cubans than the Batista dictatorship. [Applause]

So as I was saying, we all have to die of something. Why should we be afraid of death? [Applause] As the saying goes, "If there's a cure for your illness, why worry about it? And if it has no cure, why worry?" [Applause] We must go forward as a nation, as a people, and continue to forge our own future, our own destiny. We must continue to fulfill our dreams, and defend the right to

<sup>12</sup> During the revolutionary war, the U.S. government helped arm the Batista regime, including providing weapons to bomb peasant villages in the Sierra Maestra. In December 1954 the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua attacked Costa Rica.

## Malcolm X Talks to Young People



"I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth" — Malcolm X,

Britain, December 1964. Also includes his 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine. \$10.95

FROM PATHFINDER: AVAILABLE AT BOOKSTORES LISTED ON PAGE 12.

## Dignity of nation

Imagine the nation of the future, with everything that the revolution will accomplish in all areas. But this fruit will have to be the result of seeds planted today, of today's sacrifices, of sacrifices that are like seeds planted in furrows being opened up by a dignity and patriotic spirit that look toward the future of the nation.

Today I saw that many fathers and mothers carried their children on their shoulders. It wasn't just a march of the people. It was also a demonstration that showed people's feelings and hopes — the hope harbored by a people when it carries its children in a patriotic march. That happens only at important moments in the history of a nation. Only in its greatest hours, in its brightest hours, do the people carry their children on their shoulders. These children are a real

<sup>11</sup> March 10, 1952, was the day of Batista's coup d'état.



do that with our lives. [Applause]

It has been said here that it's necessary for the people to receive military training to defend their revolution. There was discussion about training the workers and I say more is needed: even the children and women must receive military training here. [Applause] We must train all the people to defend themselves and then we'll see if they dare come here in a little military expedition to ascertain if there's any hope left for the enemies of the revolution. Because the enemies of the revolution will never be able to defeat the revolution in elections.

The polls may show a drop in support for the revolution and they may continue to do so. As I have said before, during the first days of the revolution, everyone applauded us. By the second day, the large landowners had already stopped applauding us. By the third day, the owners of apartment buildings weren't applauding us. And on the fourth day, the real estate owners weren't applauding us. I'm not talking about the owner of a single lot, who now has all the facilities available to him to build. I'm talking about the real estate owners who divide up lots and sell them. So this is what has been happening — not with everyone but with some of these interests.

#### We have support of majority

Some of the people who protest the revolutionary laws will continue to withdraw their support from us. And there will always be a certain number of people who want things to be resolved immediately and who are inevitably going to be resentful about one thing or another. Support will not be as broad but it will be deeper. We will no longer have the support of 95 percent or 90 or 80 or 75 percent — maybe not even that much. But we will always have a majority, that's for certain. And those who remain with the revolution will be worth more than everything we had before, because earlier there was great breadth but not much depth. Now the support will not be as broad, but it will be deeper. The people who stand on the side of the revolution [Applause] will be the ones who will be willing to die for it, like one of the signs said in the march today.

They won't defeat us in elections because we will have a majority. We will hold elections here whenever they want [Applause. Some in the audience call out that they don't want elections.] I want to tell you that we will win in elections. If we were to put the past to a vote by the people, put to a vote the allies of the past, or those who want a return to the past, [Voices are heard saying, "No."] those who oppose the revolutionary laws would not have the slightest chance of winning.

The various dangers of a democracy have been talked about here and three have been mentioned. One was the danger of speculation, that government officials would begin stealing. I'm telling you there's not the slightest chance that will happen. We will face other dangers; I can conceive of others. But the idea that the revolution will fall because there will be embezzlers, and wherever there are embezzlers there can be no freedom, and then comes tyranny — I say that the danger that people will steal does not exist here. Of that I can assure you.

Who is going to steal here? That's a thing of the past. Stealing always occurred here because the top government officials were also the top thieves, and from the top down everyone stole. [Applause] I want you to tell me how the top public officials could manage to steal here. Tell me who here after all the sacrifices, all the deaths along the way, all the crosses like the ones that fill our graveyards, and after so much honesty, would dare touch a single cent.

So that danger does not exist. There is no danger that we would trample on anybody. No sir. What we are going to do here is expose a lot of people, unmask a lot of shameless people, denounce a lot of fakers. This will not be like the depiction by a cartoonist this morning. I don't know if he did it on his own or was ordered to by his boss. He had put down some lines and alongside the lines he put "pay raise." On the other side of this text he put a little sign saying "counterrevolutionary" — that is, he applied medication before a scratch had even appeared. I don't know what he was referring to — because these days there have been



Ministry of Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba  
**Rebel Army combatants in Sierra Maestra, Cuba, led by commander Juan Almeida Bosque (seated center) and Captain Calixto García (seated far right). Support of workers and peasants made the revolution possible. "Even more moving than the tractors marching by is the united march of the Rebel Army, shoulder to shoulder with the working class," Castro said, referring to that day's demonstration. Right, first workers' militias parade on May Day, 1959.**

some obscure things that have appeared, things that people don't understand.

I don't know if what he meant to say was that on one hand we want to buy journalists off by talking about pay raises and on the other we want to intimidate them with that little sign saying "counterrevolutionary." If that's indeed what he meant to say, it would be good to point out that we don't want to buy off anybody, that we don't want to intimidate anybody, because we don't need to buy off anybody to get them to defend us. We know how to defend ourselves. [Applause] And we don't need to intimidate anybody from attacking us because we aren't afraid of anybody. [Applause] It's the people that they have to try to convince. And if none of these individuals are in danger of dying of hunger because they don't have a job, let them take care that they don't die of hunger later because no one reads what they write. [Applause]

From this point on I'm declaring that neither flattery nor attacks concern me in the least. The fact is, they will take the same freedom we have won for the people and use it in order to attack us. [Applause]

It's a vile slander to say that we try to influence journalists through bribes, by talking about pay raises, or through the insidious act of intimidation by accusing them of being counterrevolutionaries. We defend their right to a pay raise because it's just. We want journalists to make a decent living just like other intellectual workers. We don't want to stoop to the immoral behavior of bribing journalists. We want to help them honestly. We don't call anyone a counterrevolutionary unless they really are [Applause] like those who join the slander campaigns, those who join the foreign slander campaigns paid for by the international oligarchy, [Applause] those who join the campaigns of the war criminals, those who change their stripes when it's to their advantage, and those who take sides for money, like vulgar mercenaries, opportunists. [Applause] From now on I say that they indeed have the freedom to write whatever they want. But they also have the freedom to hear out everything we have to say to them. [Applause]

I don't want to name names because I am not pointing to anyone in particular. What I do want to make clear is that we will resolutely oppose all the mercenaries, all the traitors, and all the servants of the counterrevolutionary reactionary forces. They're not going to get away with saying that the counterrevolution is nothing more than a slogan on a little sign, that there is no counterrevolution. If we don't alert people about this in time, they can create a bloodbath in our country. But if we warn the people in time, even if they create a bloodbath, it will be the blood of the mercenaries themselves that will be shed because they will last about as long here as sweets left at the door of a school.

I was saying that if they have no hope of regaining power through elections, since

they don't have the support of the people, then how can they hope to regain power with weapons when they face an entire people determined to fight? [Applause]

So what hope does the counterrevolution have of regaining power? Regaining it with help from abroad. The counterrevolution's only hope of regaining power, since it knows it doesn't have the slightest chance of gaining it through the people's support, is with the help of foreign powers. So, the counterrevolutionaries are above all traitors to their country. They wheedle money out of foreigners. They are panderers who whisper into the ears of powerful foreigners, to see if they, with all their resources, can replant the counterrevolution in the national soil. [Applause]

#### Counterrevolution looks to foreign powers

Since they don't have the slightest hope of winning power through elections or with weapons, why all the conspiratorial hustle and bustle abroad? What does it mean? Why the slander campaign against the Cuban revolution? What does it mean? It means that the only way the counterrevolution can hope to regain power is with the help of foreign powers.

We have to tell the counterrevolutionaries that they are traitors to their country. They would do well to understand in time what Maceo said and what Raúl has repeated in two speeches and what one of the signs said today: "Whoever tries to take possession of Cuba will end up with nothing but the dust of a soil drowned in blood."<sup>13</sup> [Sustained applause] Let them lose all hope of bringing back the hateful past. Let the Venturas, Laurents, Masferrers, and all those

murderers lose all hope of pitching their tents here, even if they receive all the help they can get. Before they can try to oppress their people again, before they can succeed in doing that, they will have to exterminate this people. [Applause]

They will have to resign themselves to oppressing a blackened land that has turned to desert. Let them lose all hope because they will never be able to do it here, even if they use all the resources, all the propaganda, everything they can to thwart us, to divide us, to weaken us. I believe in this people. I know its shortcomings. I know what its weaknesses are — which aren't of its own making but were inherited. But I'm also familiar with its extraordinary virtues. That's why I say that they will not be able to oppress the Cuban people, this people of ours, the people of Maceo and Martí.<sup>14</sup>



It would be best if they lost hope. I referred here to "our defects" and I've said that we have to become more and more unified and work together more and more every day. We must unify not just working people, but the nation. We must unite the middle class with the workers and peasants, excluding only the small group of people who look to the past, who can't manage to convince themselves once and for all that there is no person alive who can put brakes on the revolution. We must unify not just the revolutionary sectors of society but a broad spectrum of social sectors.

I'm addressing you in the same language with which I spoke to the members of the civic institutions. I spoke to them in patriotic language and they applauded. I spoke to them in revolutionary language and they

**Continued on Page 15**

<sup>13</sup> Antonio Maceo, a black Cuban known as the Bronze Titan, was a leader of the 1868–78 and 1895–98 wars of independence. He was killed in battle on Dec. 7, 1896.

<sup>14</sup> José Martí, a noted poet, writer, speaker, and journalist, founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892 to fight against Spanish rule and oppose U.S. designs on Cuba. In 1895 the party helped initiate a war of independence against Spain, and Martí was killed in battle the same year. His revolutionary anti-imperialist program is part of the political foundation of the Cuban revolution, and he is considered Cuba's national hero.

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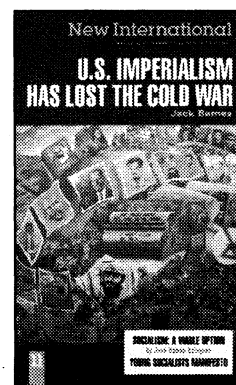
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# SWP discusses recruitment, labor struggles

Continued from Page 8

and pamphlets recording the lessons of working-class struggles in many parts of the world and over many decades.

## Election of National Committee

The convention elected a somewhat smaller leadership committee, its National Committee, that included a number of younger workers who are shouldering responsibilities in party branches, in national industrial trade union fractions, and in the printshop that produces the *Militant* and revolutionary books and pamphlets.

The Young Socialists held a meeting of its National Committee, as well as a meeting for the substantial number of young workers and students in attendance.

Convention guests included workers and young people interested in joining the SWP or Young Socialists. Other unionists and farmers attended who have met party members in struggles and have come to see the convention decisions as having a bearing on what they do in the coming months.

The party also invited supporters from Utah who are helping socialist workers expand relations with coal miners in that part of the country.

## Reports on convention resolutions

Nan Bailey, a party leader from Seattle, opened the convention and welcomed guests to the meeting.

Convention reports included "Championing Our Expanding Support Movement and Turning Toward Recruitment," presented by Mary-Alice Waters; "Stand Up, Act, Fight, and be Counted: The Class-Struggle Vanguard in Formation," presented by Joel Britton; a political report by Jack Barnes; and "Continuity and Homogeneity: Building the World Communist Movement," presented by Michel Dubois.

In light of the escalating U.S.-led assault on Yugoslavia, delegates changed the agenda to include a report and discussion on "The Working-Class Response to Washington's Campaign to Dismember Yugoslavia," presented by Argiris Malapanis. The report explained why communists are campaigning in opposition to the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and in support of the fight for national self-determination by Albanians living in Kosovo.

Nearly 400 people attended the convention, and for 37 people it was their first such gathering.

Convention delegates and guests belong to a number of unions, including 33 in the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE); 32 in the International Association of Machinists (IAM); 27 in the United Transportation Union (UTU); 26 in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA); 27 in the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW); and 13 in the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The night before the convention, party members who are rail workers and members of the United Transportation Union held a national fraction meeting here in San Francisco. They discussed how rail workers can chart a fighting course in the midst of a campaign by the officialdoms of the UTU and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to win support for a union-weakening merger of the UTU and BLE.

Participants spanned generations of experience in the class struggle and communist movement. Sixteen were between the ages of 14 and 19; six had been in the communist movement for more than 45 years. Participation of revolutionary fighters abroad was notable, with 74 people from nine countries present.

## Recruitment to the party

"The future of humanity depends on the development of a communist leadership in the United States," said Mary-Alice Waters at the opening of her report. "This is said with the humility of revolutionary fighters who know we occupy only a stretch of the trench, but a vital stretch. We know where the capitalist class is headed, but we don't intend to let them get there. They have to battle their way through workers, farmers, and others fighting oppression and exploitation first."

Waters said that recruitment is the most practical challenge to building the SWP today. There are greater recruitment possibilities now than at any other time in the last 20 years to win new members to the SWP and Young Socialists, she said.

Party branches and fractions can begin to meet these opportunities by integrating themselves into the struggles by a growing vanguard of workers and farmers.

By shifting the center of gravity of weekly activity to participation in such mass work, Waters said, party members can transform their branches through recruitment.

The potential to recruit to the movement is directly connected with the explosion of support for the party, Waters said. Party supporters are "nudging the party, offering more and more to help, which has made a difference in alerting the party to the openings and seeing ways forward in our work we didn't think were possible before."

This has been especially crucial in the continued production of Pathfinder books, which contain the written legacy of the workers movement. Last year party supporters took the initiative to get every Pathfinder title in computer form.

"They have produced 25 titles so far," Waters reported, demonstrating one aspect of the "qualitative expansion in enthusiasm and initiative by party supporters."

Given the new growth in the number and breadth of work by supporters, "the active supporters formation of the party has been transcended, incorporated into something much greater as we work together to discover whatever will be the new forms," Waters said. A key challenge before the leadership of every branch is to work with the larger number of supporters on a consistent basis.

## Selling 'Capitalism's World Disorder'

Joel Britton opened his report pointing out that *Capitalism's World Disorder* "is the book to be seen with among co-workers and working people in struggle." Reading and discussing the book will "help many vanguard workers stand up, fight, and be counted," he said.

The stakes are getting higher in many fights today. They last longer and "have amazing staying power," he said. The new book from Pathfinder speaks to the experiences of workers and farmers in these struggles, helps deepen their education in class politics, and opens the door to other social and political struggles here and around the world.

Britton pointed to the USWA strikers at RMI Titanium in Niles, Ohio, "who have not been deterred or intimidated by the fact that U.S. marshals have been added to the local police force."

As these strikes go on, he said, a feature of the struggles becomes the "reinforcing of strikers meeting each other; of fighters from different struggles reaching out, determined not to let others go down to defeat."

At the strike by UAW members at

Tazewell Machine Works in Pekin, Illinois, "management has denounced the UAW as being a communist and a Bolshevik union," Britton said. "Some workers want to find out what this is all about, and are checking out the *Militant* and Pathfinder books."

"The road to a successful active workers conference in August will be our deepening involvement, led by members of the trade union fractions and YS, in all strike solidarity and farmer protests and other social struggles," Britton said. "We do this with full knowledge that what we do can make a difference: helping fighters meet each other and organizing effective solidarity through our union fractions and branches."

"In the course of these struggles," Britton said, "we meet fighters who genuinely welcome the *Militant* newsweekly. And we have a powerful new weapon, *Capitalism's World Disorder*, that will be used by those in struggle today."

## Class traditions

Michel Dubois presented a report on the preface to *El rostro cambiante de la política en Estados Unidos*, which will be added to the next printing of the *Changing Face of U.S. Politics*. In order to forge a politically homogeneous cadre, "all of us — no matter what our first language — need to use same political language," he said.

Dubois reviewed what may seem like a number of questions of translation of terms from English into French and Spanish, such as 'worker-bolshevik.' But in reality, as the preface notes, these are questions of "political culture, history, and habits of political thought — in other words, class traditions."

In the political report, summaries, and a presentation to the closing rally, Jack Barnes reported on a number of central questions posed in the documents before the convention. This included the assessment that the center of world politics today is shift-

ing from capitalist Europe to the United States. Barnes pointed to the growing dependence of the imperialist ruling classes of Europe and Asia on U.S. imperialism as the engine of economic progress amid deflationary pressures throughout most of the capitalist world, as well as their dependence on the political wisdom and military capacity and competence of Washington. He pointed to the planned deployment of a U.S. theater missile defense system to surround China, opening the possibilities to threaten that workers state with a nuclear first strike.

U.S. imperialism is the last empire of the last period of the imperialist epoch, Barnes pointed out. No rising, junior imperialist power stands behind it to buffer the worldwide impact of its decline, as was the case with U.S. imperialism as the British Empire retreated earlier in this century. The stability of the international capitalist system is increasingly mortgaged to that of Wall Street and Washington.

Following up on Britton's report on the U.S. labor movement, Barnes pointed out that not only are many strikes lasting longer today, but the leading cadres in these battles remain on their two feet even in the face of stalemates or setbacks and begin to reach out to bring solidarity, and the lessons of their own fights, to other embattled workers and farmers.

Rather than internalizing frustration, more workers are starting to find ways to do something to fight back, he said. This change in mass psychology is the most important element in the sea change in working-class politics central to the documents before the convention.

Barnes reported what a USWA member at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard had recently told supporters of the *Militant* from Washington, D.C. — "We'll be looking for you to be there when we go on strike" in

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## Socialist Workers Party National Committee

Elected April 3, 1999

### Regular members

Nan Bailey	Argiris Malapanis
Jack Barnes	Greg McCartan
Joel Britton	Meg Novak
Steve Clark	Francisco Picado
Naomi Craine	Verónica Poses
Frank Forrestal	Dave Prince
Laura Garza	Norton Sandler
James Harris	Ma'mud Shirvani
Marín Koppel	Brian Taylor
Luis Madrid	Mary-Alice Waters
Ernie Mailhot	Jack Willey

### Alternate members

1. Paul Mailhot	8. Ved Dookhun
2. Cecelia Moriarity	9. Diana Newberry
3. Maurice Williams	10. Amanda Ulman
4. Dennis Richter	11. Samuel Farley
5. Joshua Carroll	12. Ryan Kelly
6. Peter Thierjung	13. Doug Nelson
7. Gaetan Whiston	14. Paul Pederson

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# — YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD —

## YS meet at convention, discuss upcoming campaigns

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, California, 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1429.

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BY RYAN KELLY

SAN FRANCISCO — Fifty young socialists from around the world met the morning of April 4, immediately following the Socialist Workers Party's 40th constitutional convention. Members of the Young Socialists from the United States, Canada, Sweden, and New Zealand, along with other young activists interested in joining the YS, took part in the meeting. They discussed the campaigns of the YS leading up to the Active Workers Conference to be held in August. Four people asked to join the Young Socialists during the convention, and two were voted into membership that weekend.

"We stand with the Kosovar people's struggle for self-determination. This is the road to defending the workers state in Yugoslavia, just as is demanding that Washington and NATO stop the military assault against this workers state," said Samantha Kern, the organizer of the National Executive Committee of the YS in the United States. Reporting from a meeting of the YS National Committee that took place two days earlier, she encouraged every member of the YS to get out on picket lines, sell the *Militant* and *Pers-*

*pectiva Mundial* at plant gates, and organize educational and forums opposing the escalation of Washington's war drive.

"Building the Cuban youth tour is a central project of the YS in the next four weeks," Kern continued. She was referring to the speaking tour of Itamys García Villar and Luis Ernesto Morejón, two youth leaders from Cuba, at campuses across the United States. "If we function competently, revolutionary minded youth who are attracted to the Cuban revolution can be won to joining the ranks of the YS by seeing our organization as a tool to be used to do what the Cubans did," said Kern in. All chapters are encouraged to organize classes on the Cuban revolution to be built at the meetings where the Cuban youth are speaking and cover the tour events in their area for this column.

"We should think ahead of time about the questions and comments to bring up during the discussions at the Cuban youth tour meetings," added Olga Russi, a YS member who is part of organizing the tour in the Los Angeles area. "Our political participation can make a difference in the success of a meeting."

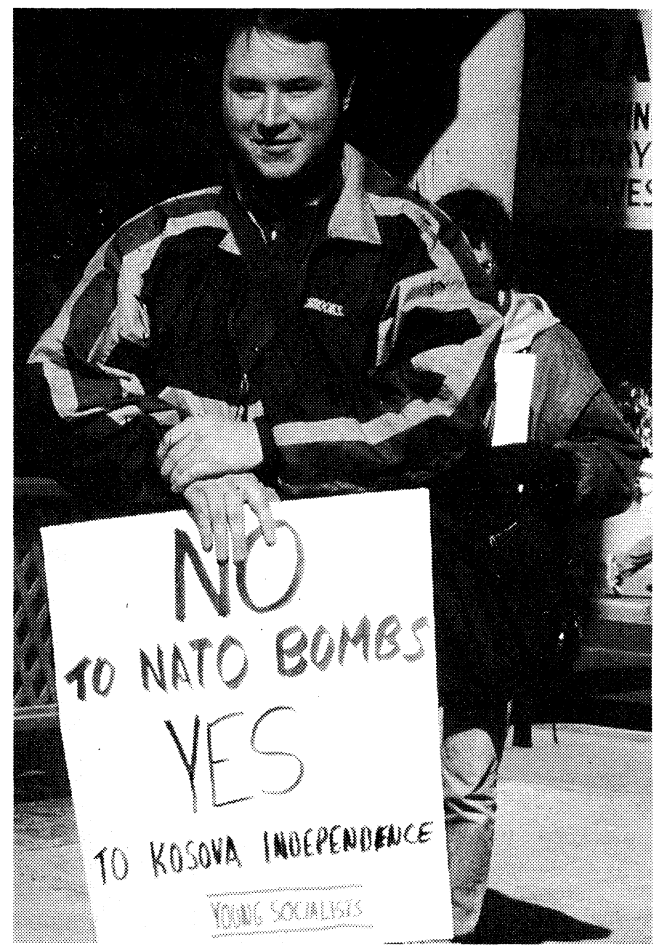
The discussion at the YS meeting took up the class struggle internationally, challenges in building revolutionary youth organizations, the role of the Young Socialists in the Socialist Workers Party's campaign to deepen the party's political work in the industrial unions, recruitment, and building the active workers conference in Ohio.

In a contribution to the discussion on how to respond to the U.S. aggression in the Bal-

kans, Ryan Lewis from New York said, "Demonstrations are important, but our working-class campaign against the war on Yugoslavia also has to bring us to the plant gates with the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books and door to door in working-class areas." Especially important is joining in the campaign to sell *Capitalism's World Disorder*. YS chapters and members will be taking goals as part of this effort.

The Young Socialists also launched a \$9,000 fund drive to be completed by the end May. The funds are needed for the expenses in building a proletarian youth organization that is financially independent and can respond rapidly to political developments and maintain its national office. It was proposed that all chapters have their goals in for the fund drive and goals for *Capitalism's World Disorder* in one week.

The meeting concluded by sending greetings from the YS to the National Committee meeting of the Union of Young Communists taking place in Cuba that day.



Militant/Heidi Rose  
Young Socialists are building and participating in protests against U.S., NATO bombing and for Kosova independence. Above, one such protest in Toronto March 27.

## Socialist Workers Party national convention

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early April. That kind of determination to reach out for support and solidarity "is the banner of the class-struggle vanguard in becoming in factories, mines, and mills," Barnes said. It is a vanguard that will also be open more and more to go to actions protesting police brutality and other social protests, as well as to other countries to link up with fellow workers and co-fighters.

Communists join unconditionally in these struggles, handling themselves in such a way as to help strengthen the fight through active solidarity and competent functioning on picket lines and other combat situations. Communist workers come to these fights not with tactical prescriptions and advice, but as co-fighters.

At the same time, as union battles and other fights continue, workers bump up against the limitations of trade union tactics and struggles, and seek to find ways, as Malcolm X once put it, to "broaden their scope." They begin looking for political solutions in the interests of workers and farmers. Recognition of the need to become part of a revolutionary working-class organization such as the SWP can't evolve out of those struggles, he said, but takes a leap in political consciousness. Under these conditions, the "value, weight, and importance of working-class tradition starts to increase" for fighters in order to gain a generalized understanding of the dynamics of world politics. More workers will pick up a book such as *Capitalism's World Disorder* and start working through it seriously, he said.

Barnes pointed to the conclusion of Farrell Dobbs — the central leader of the battles that transformed the Teamsters union in the upper Midwest in the 1930s into a fighting social movement, and who served as the national secretary of the SWP in the 1950s and 1960s — at the end of his four-book series on the Teamsters struggles. The final sentence of the "Afterword" to the last volume states: "As the Teamster story demonstrates, the principal lesson for labor militants to derive from [this] experience is not that, under an adverse relationship of forces, the workers can be overcome; but that, with proper leadership, they can overcome."

Being a worker-bolshevik is about who you are and who you can become, Barnes said. The October 1917 revolution in Russia produced a new type of person who saw themselves as a fighting part of an international class and a cadre party. Worker-bolsheviks became convinced in practice that we can do the opposite of what we're taught by teachers, preachers, and officials:

we can forge a revolutionary army and together change the world. This, he said, is the road to building a disciplined party with a voluntary membership. A party of individual, imaginative, and self-acting cadre.

### Protests against killing of Diallo

Paco Sánchez spoke about protests against the police killing of Amadou Diallo. He pointed out how union members, workers, and others who recognize that they too could be the victims of racist police violence are joining the protests on a regular basis.

Al Duncan said the fight against the cop killing of Diallo was bringing back to the fore the case of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant brutally tortured by New York City police. "Within this struggle," Duncan said, "we can find those who want to fight against every aspect of this system."

James Harris, a member of UNITE from Atlanta, described how the visit of two Cuban youth leaders to universities in the city helped lead the party to young people interested in socialism. The party branch there has been involved with farmers fighting for land and against the U.S. government's discriminatory practices against farmers who are Black. The two revolutionary youth met a number of these farmers and exchanged experiences with them.

After that meeting, one of the Georgia farmers proposed organizing another event to celebrate their new relationship with the SWP. Arlene Rubinstein, a member of the IAM in Atlanta, described the openings they have to advance recruitment to the movement, pointing to a recent crowded Militant Labor Forum on the farm struggle attended by farmers, workers, and youth.

Mike Fitzsimmons, a member of UNITE from Cleveland, described the ongoing strikes by unionists in Ohio. Getting involved in the upcoming April 24 rally in Newark, Ohio, called to support locked-out workers at Kaiser Aluminum, and the upcoming contract expiration of a USWA contract in Ravenswood, West Virginia, will be part of meeting workers who will want to attend the Active Workers Conference this summer, he said.

### 'I stood on my feet' in struggle

Frank Forrestal, a member of the UTU and the party's farm work director, described a protest by farmers in Florida. As an example of the fighting determination of the farmers, Forrestal reported what one of them said of the proposed USDA settlement: "If I don't get one penny at least I'll know I stood up on my feet."

Party and YS members in Des Moines,

Iowa, have been active in defending immigrant rights, reported Amanda Ullman, a packinghouse worker. In "Operation Vanguard," the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is subpoenaing personnel records of workers at packinghouses in the Midwest, often leading to firings of workers. Union members at her plant participated and helped lead the protest actions, she said.

Estelle DeBates, a garment worker from Seattle, described steps socialist workers in UNITE had taken to build a nationwide fraction that functions as communists in the union. "Communist workers," she said, "can set an example to co-workers of how to collectively take up issues and act as the union in becoming, rather than falling into the trap set by the bosses and the union officials to individually negotiate wages and working conditions."

"We have been doing quite a bit of work in Chicago to bring solidarity to picket lines," said Joshua Carroll, the party's recent candidate for mayor of Chicago and a member of the USWA. "We are helping to introduce fighting workers to each other," he said, "getting books such as *Capitalism's World Disorder* into the hands of some of them." Carroll and other party and YS members in the city have been part of the fight against the frame-up, conviction, and imprisonment of José Solís, a Puerto Rican independence fighter, on charges of "terrorism."

Taking up the importance of clear, scientific class language in the workers movement, Paul Pederson from Newark described how much he learned from a discussion in the pages of the *Militant* on the role of Stalinism in the disastrous outcome of the struggles of Indonesian working people in 1965. This, and the publication by Pathfinder of the booklet *Maoism vs. Bolshevism*, brought home to him the crucial importance for working-class leaders of having an accurate historical understanding of the lessons of the workers movement.

### Greetings to the convention

Greetings to the convention were received from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; from the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea; and from the Movement of Landless Rural Workers in Brazil. The convention delegates sent return greetings and messages of solidarity to each, as well as to José Solís.

Workshops and classes on the main political questions before the convention were held for all convention participants. The workshops, well-attended and lively exchanges of experiences and politics, were:

Branch Jobs Committees: Building Fractions of Worker-Bolsheviks; Branch and Fraction Sales Campaigns for *Capitalism's World Disorder* and the *Militant* as We Step Up Mass Work; and Leading the Expanding Support Movement for the SWP.

A banquet dinner followed by the rally and a party, open to all supporters of the communist movement, provided an enthusiastic political closing to the three days of discussion and debate. The rally featured Malapanis, Waters, Britton, and Barnes each providing a summary of the reports they presented and the decisions of the convention. Chaired by SWP leaders James Harris and Verónica Poses, it kicked off the campaign by party branches to sell *Capitalism's World Disorder* and launched a party-building fund drive that will last through June 15. The fund will finance the expanding work of the SWP in response to growing working-class resistance and wider geographic spread of the party's work. Some \$47,500 was pledged by those in attendance amid chanting, foot-stomping, and clapping.

Special guests attending the rally were Cuban youth leaders Luis Ernesto Morejón and Itamys García Villar. The two brought greetings to the event from the leadership of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba and received a prolonged standing ovation. "It is an insult to human dignity," Morejón said in his greetings, that "in a world that has achieved the highest and most impressive levels of scientific and technical development there exists deep contrasts, such as the fact that 1.3 billion people live in the most abject poverty."

Pointing to the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution, Morejón said that "in spite of almost four decades of imperialist blockade, every Cuban child in every part of the country... is guaranteed their school, their teacher, their books, their ration cards, their indispensable food, a liter of milk every day, 13 vaccinations, systematic medical attention, and above all a lot of love in words and deeds."

At the concluding rally Barnes read from a poem by Linn Hamilton, a farmer from Pennsylvania who was among the invited guests at the convention. The poem, entitled "Working Class," was published in the *Militant* as the first in a series of brief reviews of *Capitalism's World Disorder*.

"The poem gets right at the central truth of the book," Barnes noted, when it says:

*"The road to World War Three,  
Lies through the ranks of you and me.  
To start the War of the Century,  
The bosses must move you and me."*

# No to NATO

Continued from front page  
fellow toilers fleeing Kosova.

The wealthy rulers of the United States, whose empire is built on blood, couldn't care less about the humanitarian concerns they profess to justify the bombing. Washington's real objectives are to assert its military and political hegemony in Europe and advance toward its goal of dismembering the country and reestablishing the domination of capitalist social relations in Yugoslavia. The goal of the NATO bombing campaign is to pressure Belgrade to negotiate a deal — at the expense of the Albanian people — that will give U.S. imperialism a stronger military foothold in the Balkans. And it is a deadly dagger aimed at the workers states in Russia and throughout Eastern Europe.

Washington is opposed to the struggle for the national rights of the Albanians, who are subjected to second-class status in Yugoslavia. In fighting against imperialism and its wars, class-conscious workers should take the lead from the example set by the Bolshevik party under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, which consistently supported the fight for self-determination by oppressed nationalities — a stance that made possible the victory and survival of the October 1917 revolution.

To go to war, including the possible deployment of ground troops, the U.S. rulers must build up nationalist sentiment in support of "our American boys." This is the aim of their current propaganda barrage, including their "yellow ribbon" campaign around the three U.S. soldiers captured on the Kosova-Macedonia border. The patriotic, pro-war campaign is tied to moves by the Clinton administration to establish a North American command for the Pentagon, which would give the U.S. military policing powers and structure inside the United States, as well as recent mock invasions conducted by the U.S. Navy and Marines in northern California, Florida, and elsewhere. The stated goal of such military moves is to prepare the U.S. government to confront "terrorism" at home, that is, to target alleged domestic supporters of what Washington calls "rogue states" — North Korea, Iraq, Cuba, and other nations on its hit list.

At the same time, the ruling U.S. families are stepping up the use of the police, the death penalty, and other measures aimed at clamping down on working people in anticipation of increased working-class resistance to the employers.

William Clinton and the Democratic Party are the most aggressive promoters of Washington's bipartisan policy of military intervention in the Balkans. In this, Clinton follows in the footsteps of liberal Democratic administrations from Franklin Roosevelt to John Kennedy, who have dragged working people into imperialist slaughters from World War II to Korea to Vietnam. Clinton was groomed and brought into the presidency to carry out this job for his wealthy masters.

The employers, however, have been unable to close down political space for workers and farmers to debate and engage in political activity. The job of class-conscious workers is to turn to our class and become more deeply involved in political activity in our trade unions, joining in labor skirmishes as we seek to convince fellow working people of the need to oppose the U.S. rulers' war both abroad and at home.

The workers and farmers of Yugoslavia are both the target of the imperialist warmongers, and a big obstacle to them. Working people there carried out an historic socialist revolution in the 1940s. They did so by forging unity in struggle among all the different nationalities — giving the lie to the capitalists' claim that the Balkan peoples are somehow prone to "age-old ethnic conflicts." As long as there are people — there are many today — who don't view themselves as Serbs or Croats or Muslims, but affirm "I am Yugoslav," there will be resistance both to imperialism and to the ruling chauvinist gangs in Yugoslavia.

The U.S.-led assault has generated deep opposition among millions of working people in the former Soviet Union and other nearby workers states, who sense they too are targeted. Moscow, as well as sections of the government in the Czech Republic, have denounced NATO's bombing campaign.

Moscow and the regimes of other workers states in the region, including those that are NATO members, should lend unconditional aid and solidarity to the people of Yugoslavia in order to help them defend themselves against the U.S.-led onslaught.

The *Militant* urges its readers to organize and join demonstrations and other protests against the imperialist assault on Yugoslavia. In many cases, the organizers of these protests promote pacifist slogans limited to stopping the bombing; many lend political support to the Belgrade regime. Working-class fighters should join these actions, bringing our own signs with demands for an end to NATO intervention, unambiguous support to the self-determination and independence of Albanians in Kosova, and calling on the U.S. and other governments to open their borders to those seeking refuge. Where the predominant character of the protests is against the right of self-determination for Kosova — or where such actions attract a native fascist element such as the Buchanan Brigades, who have joined at least one such "antiwar" protest — opponents of U.S. war moves should not join them.

A central aspect of this campaign against imperialism and its wars is the systematic effort to provide fellow workers, farmers, and students with the facts and an accurate explanation of what is behind the unfolding events. The most effective weapon is the drive to sell the book *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, together with other political weapons such as *New International* and *Pathfinder* books. Above all, this multifaceted campaign must be waged by getting more involved in solidarity with union and farm struggles, as well as accompanying other workers to broader political actions — from anti-police brutality pickets to protests for immigrant rights to meetings that tell the truth about the Cuban revolution.

# U.S. widens assault on Yugoslavia

Continued from Page 3

quire much tougher sticks and much fatter carrots," he stated. "Let's see what 12 weeks of less than surgical bombing does. Give war a chance."

As for the "carrots," Friedman proposed offering the Milosevic regime two options: "Either a modified Rambouillet deal that would give the Kosovars internationally protected autonomy in a Kosovo still under Serb sovereignty, or a partition of Kosovo. The Serbs would get the northwest sliver, which contains their Orthodox monasteries and holy sites."

The Albanians would "get" the rest, with an international occupation army enforcing the deal. Friedman added that "for now, this strategy is preferable to a ground war" because "once NATO invades Kosovo, it owns Kosovo," a situation that would drain Washington's political resources.

## NATO widens assault

Two weeks into the military assault on Yugoslavia, the U.S.-led NATO forces widened the scope of the bombing, dropping missiles on major cities in Serbia and Montenegro, the two republics that make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

NATO forces have repeatedly bombed Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital, as well as Nis and Novi Sad, the country's second- and third-largest cities. The U.S.-led raids have destroyed many bridges on the Danube river, stranding scores of freighters from Budapest to the Black Sea. NATO officials claim they have only targeted military and government facilities, avoiding civilian areas.

On April 6, however, a U.S. warplane attacked two residential areas in Aleksinac, a coal mining town in southern Serbia. Yugoslav officials reported 12 civilians were killed and dozens wounded; the neighborhoods were demolished along with an ice cream factory and an animal feed plant.

In Brussels NATO spokesperson David Wilby mouthed regret for the deaths. The bombs hit the neighborhoods instead of a nearby military target, the British air commodore pronounced, because of "the law of statistics" and "a technical defect."

"The people responsible for this should be tried," exclaimed Stana Stojanovic, a 62-year pensioner whose neighbors were killed in Aleksinac. "I was a 16-year-old when I joined the Partisans in the fight against the Germans," said Petronje Milovanovic, cursing U.S. president William Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. "I'm ready to fight again." U.S. and other imperialist warplanes have bombed numerous industrial centers in Yugoslavia, from an aluminum plant near Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, to an oil refinery in Novi Sad.

On April 7 NATO air raids reduced much of the center of Pristina, Kosova's capital, to rubble, killing at least 10 civilians, according to authorities there.

NATO has rapidly increased its aerial armada, now at 600 warplanes and helicopters flying out of bases in Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The U.S. Navy has expanded its force in the Adriatic Sea to 11 missile-firing warships and submarines. The U.S. aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* joined the armada April 6.

## Thousands driven out of Kosova

Meanwhile, Belgrade's troops and militarized police have driven more than 500,000 of the 1.8 million Albanian residents out of Kosova; many more have been displaced from their homes inside Kosova. A quarter million people have poured across the border into Albania, and tens of thousands more into Macedonia and Montenegro. Pristina has reportedly been depopulated.

Since the beginning of its bombing offensive, the Clinton administration has asserted that its goal is to prevent the Milosevic regime's forces from carrying out its anti-Albanian "ethnic cleansing" campaign in Kosova. In the first two weeks, however, NATO's military assault was not directed primarily at the Serbian regime's forces in Kosova and its devastating terror campaign.

An April 7 editorial in the liberal *Washington Post*, arguing for a more aggressive U.S. policy, gave the following rationale for this situation: "In the early stages of this conflict, NATO could not protect the Kosovo civilians for whom this war is being fought. The air campaign had first to degrade Serbia's air defenses.... But even now, the officials say, the air campaign is limited in its ability to interfere in the continuing ethnic cleansing, because Serbian tanks are too dispersed, too well hidden, too close to civilians or — still — too well protected."

Continuing this pattern of applying steady military pressure and threats against Belgrade, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon announced April 4 that 24 U.S. Apache helicopter gunships would be sent to Albania with surface-to-surface missiles and 2,000 U.S. soldiers, who would be in a position to attack Serbian government forces across the border in Kosova.

U.S. government officials deny that the deployment of the Apaches is a first step toward a ground invasion of Yugoslavia. Such statements notwithstanding, the U.S. forces in Macedonia and those en route to Albania can be used as the staging detachments for such a course.

"It could take a week to 10 days to deploy the Apaches from a base in Germany," an Associated Press dispatch reported. "We could move the Apaches there extremely quickly," Bacon said, but U.S. forces will concentrate on delivering "humanitarian aid" first.

NATO officials announced April 6 the military alliance would take over coordination of all air and overland transport of "aid" to Kosovars in Albania, previously organized by UN-sponsored refugee agencies. As a *New York Times* reporter noted, "the relief effort and the deployment of the Apaches is deepening the American commitment on the ground in the Balkans."

The skies over Yugoslavia and the Adriatic have now become so clogged with NATO airplanes on combat missions over Serbia and "relief" flights to Albania and Macedonia that it has caused what Bacon termed a "sequencing" problem. Because of the number of these flights out of military bases in Italy, the government in Rome has shut down all its civilian airports on its eastern sea coast.

## Kosovars to be held at Guantánamo

As part of the so-called humanitarian mission, NATO officials announced a plan to ship more than 100,000 displaced Albanians from the Kosova border area to refugee camps in other European countries and elsewhere. Washington plans to take 20,000 of them to the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In 1994, Washington held tens of thousands of Cubans and Haitians seeking to reach U.S. shores in concentration camps at the Guantánamo base.

The *Times* cited anonymous U.S. officials who acknowledged that the base was "selected to eliminate the possibility that some of the refugees might be able to claim political asylum in the United States."

Clinton administration officials have insisted that the removal of Kosovar Albanians to scattered refugee camps is only temporary and that NATO's goal is to force the Belgrade regime to allow their return. As British prime minister Anthony Blair aggressively declared April 5, "We will drive them back to Kosova."

In contrast, Cuba's foreign ministry stated April 8 that Havana "will not put up any obstacles, and is even willing to help" any humanitarian effort for Balkans refugees. "The innocent victims, whatever their nationality, ethnicity or religion, should receive maximum aid, both within and outside of Yugoslavia." The statement also condemned the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

NATO officials rejected Milosevic's April 6 announcement of a unilateral cease-fire during the Orthodox Easter. Instead they insisted on Belgrade accepting four conditions for ending the imperialist bombing campaign. These are the withdrawal of Belgrade's troops from Kosova, the return of the refugees, the introduction of an imperialist-led occupation force under the cover of protecting the returning Kosovars, and "self-government" for Kosova.

At the same time, Washington and other imperialist powers have dropped their earlier demand that as one condition for stopping the bombing Milosevic must sign the U.S.-sponsored accords on "autonomy" for Kosova that they presented in March during negotiations at Rambouillet Castle in France. Instead, now that Belgrade has succeeded in driving tens of thousands of people out of Kosova, NATO officials said, they would send in "peace-keeping" troops under the cover of escorting the returning Kosovars before a final settlement was negotiated.

The Clinton administration has also encouraged Moscow to press its ally in Belgrade to accept U.S. demands and begin negotiations, hoping the Russian government will choose this outcome over a sharper confrontation with Washington. In a small concession to Moscow, U.S. officials described the proposed occupation troops as an "international security force" rather than a NATO force, even though it would be commanded by NATO.

Russian officials have vociferously opposed the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. Moscow sent a reconnaissance frigate to the Adriatic to monitor NATO's operations, though it said it will not provide information to the Yugoslav army. At the same time Russian officials expressed a willingness to attend a meeting of the so-called Contact Group — Washington, London, Bonn, Paris, Rome, and Moscow — which will meet April 7 on the Balkans crisis, dropping an earlier condition that NATO stop the bombing before they attend.

Meanwhile, the government in the Czech Republic, which joined NATO barely two weeks before the bombing of Yugoslavia began, is riven by differences over the imperialist assault. While the government has offered hesitant support to the NATO attack, the bombing has been strongly denounced in the Czech parliament, especially by Vaclav Klaus, the former prime minister.

## Greens, pacifists back NATO assault

As the imperialist powers from Washington to Bonn deepen their intervention in the Balkans, pacifists and other middle-class radicals have collapsed right into their respective governments' war propaganda campaign. A notable example is the Green Party in Germany, which is part of the coalition government with the Social Democrats. Besides foreign minister Joschka Fischer, an outspoken backer of the NATO assault, pacifist Green leaders such as Antje Radcke have criticized the bombing while insisting that the Green party will remain part of the government in order to "influence" it.

In France, Green Party leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit called for ground forces to bring a halt to the "organized deportation" of Kosovars. British Labour Party figure Roy Hattersley wrote in the April 5 *Guardian*, "My own doubts about the bombing... have been completely removed by seven days of pictures. A NATO victory is the only real hope."



# Newport News strike

Continued from front page

2:00 am. Most people then left to get some rest, but some were back at 5:00 a.m. to begin picket duty. Many signs read "Shipyard Offer Sucks," expressing blunt dissatisfaction with the company's final offer, which would guarantee the average shipyard worker about \$1.50 in raises over a 47-month contract, substantially less than the union is asking.

By 8:00 a.m., some 1,000 Steelworkers were marching in front of the several shipyard gates along Washington Ave. demanding a contract with a pay raise. Salaried supervisors, as well as Navy sailors and officers who work on the ships in the yard, went to work through the picket lines.

In addition, no more than half a dozen workers walked through the 50th Street gate. But more parked inside the yard at another gate and were shuttled to their work locations. In the background overhead cranes stood idle, proof that no production was taking place, according to several striking workers.

Newport News is the only U.S. shipyard that builds nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. An article in the Newport News *Daily Press* April 6 floated the idea that President William Clinton could seek a court order to end the strike under the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act if it would "imperil the national health or safety."

Jeremy Lawe, 21, an apprentice shipbuilder, said, "If everybody sticks together like we are today, things will work out. It's a lot different with us today than in times past. All of us being out here together shows progress. Some of the others in the apprentice school were scared to walk. I told them, 'You've got a right to work and a right to strike.'"

Amanda Styer, 19, came down to the gates to support her family and friends on strike at the yard. "Newport News [Shipbuilding Company] is not doing what it should," she said. "It comes down to us not having had a raise forever and we are just not going to go to work. This is what it takes."

## No pay raise since 1993

The strike deadline passed with the company refusing to budge on its offer of an 11 percent raise over 47 months. For the average shipyard worker, this would amount to raises of 54 cents per hour the first year, 42 cents the second, and 58 cents the third, or \$1.54 over the nearly four years of the contract. Further raises based on seniority and performances — which would widen differences in workers' wages — would supposedly add up to nearly \$1 more. In addition, the company wants workers to pay more for health insurance.

The union's proposal in contrast would raise wages by \$3.95 across the board, with the average worker's pay going from \$13.50 per hour to \$17.45 per hour by the end of a three-year contract.

The last raise workers got was in 1993. In 1995 the union took a concession contract, with a wage freeze, giving up holidays and vacation days. Workers received three lump-sum bonuses during the last contract

in lieu of a pay raise. Workers had originally asked for a total of \$10 in pay raises — \$6 the first year, and \$2 for each remaining year of a three-year contract, to put them at the same wage levels as workers employed at the Anheuser-Busch plant in Williamsburg, Virginia. In addition to a raise, the union is demanding restoration of holidays and vacation and an increase in pension rates.

The union wants to restrict the hiring of nonunion contractors, which has been on the rise over the past few years. And it also wants a pledge that the company won't interfere with union organizing attempts at its San Diego shipyard or at Avondale Industries, a Louisiana yard the company is in the process of acquiring.

The company's plans to increase the costs to workers for health insurance is a sore point for many strikers. Gene Hopson, a pipefitter in the yard for 27 years, said, "Under the new insurance plan the company wants, if you have coverage on a couple of kids, the little pay raise they propose would be swallowed up by the insurance premiums. And if you have three kids, you'll be in the hole."

Because Virginia is a so-called "right to work" state, the USWA cannot have a union shop agreement where workers in the bargaining unit automatically join the union.

Those hired on at the yard have to decide to seek out the union and sign up. Union membership is currently at an all-time high, with approximately 7,600 or 83 percent of 9,200 hourly workers in the union. Crystal Lloyd is a material supply clerk and has worked in the yard for seven years. She told the *Militant* 10 people she works with joined the union last week.

## 'The war is here at the gate'

The strike takes place at the same time Washington is escalating the NATO assault on Yugoslavia. Many workers, including Lloyd, said they thought the war should have no bearing on their contract fight. "The war is here at the gate," she said.

"War or no war, this strike is about business," said Kennedy Barnes, a painter for 19 years in the yard.

David Bridwell said he supported the bombing of Yugoslavia to a point, but that this strike had to go on because every day his life and the lives of others on the job are put in danger just to make ends meet.

The aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt*, which was recently in the yard, was just sent to the Adriatic Sea as part of the U.S. naval force attacking Yugoslavia. Two other U.S. Navy aircraft carriers, the *Nimitz* and the *Harry Truman*, are currently in the yard for refueling or maintenance and can be seen from the picket line.

According to workers on the picket line, the *Nimitz* is scheduled to stay in the yard for another two years as part of a three-year project to replace its nuclear fuel rods and remodel the ship.

Sailors assigned to the ships in the yard for extended periods live around Newport News and are ordered to continue working during the strike. One, who did not give his name, said, "Just tell them the Navy wishes

## Chicago strikers back Tazewell workers



Militant/Harvey McArthur

## Tool and Engineering strikers from Chicago support Tazewell April 5

BY JOSHUA CARROLL

PEKIN, Illinois — Some 75 people participated in an expanded picket line against Tazewell Machine Works April 5, marking the six-month anniversary of the strike by United Auto Workers members. Tazewell makes parts for Caterpillar.

Virtually every person on the picket line was wearing red ribbons pinned to their shirts or hats. A number of workers explained why. Several weeks before, a cop had harassed the one strike supporter on the picket line who was Black. After strikers and others stepped in and forced the cop to back off, and even apologize, the cop defended his racist attack by saying that at the time, he could see neither black nor white but only red. In response, all pickets now wear the red ribbons.

Among supporters at the rally were 11 United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members from Chicago who are currently on strike against Tool and Engineering Co. Gene Preston, a worker on strike against Tazewell, commented on the importance of solidarity from other fighters in the labor movement. He said, "Our strike is known all over the state, from Cicero, Illinois, and Chicago to central Illinois." Miners and other unionists from central Illinois have also supported their strike.

Frank Washington, a striker at Tool and Engineering, pointed out the large number of people who honked in solidarity. He said, "It's important they see a strike like this, supported by all these people."

Joshua Carroll is a member of the USWA.

them the best and hopes the Steelworkers get everything they want!" reflecting his own views, not the official Navy position.

## Strikers include veterans of 1979 battle

In 1979 workers in the yard conducted a strike to win a first contract, after gaining recognition of the USWA and ousting the company union, called the Peninsula Shipbuilders Union, (PSA), a year earlier. Many strikers point to the unity forged among Black and white workers during that strike.

On the picket line are many participants in the previous strike. Horton is one of them. "There is more unity now and there are more workers who are white involved in the union now," he said.

Brian Ribblett, a welder who has worked in the yard for 22 years, carried his picket sign from the 1979 union organizing strike. Ribblett was one of several workers hospitalized after an assault by local and state cops.

The incident, known as Bloody Monday, took place on April 16, 1979. The cops attacked picket lines and tried to storm the union hall, after workers rejected a company demand for an unconditional surrender. Unionists repulsed the cop assault, but many were injured and arrested, and some like Ribblett were fired. Ribblett fought the com-

pany to win back his job.

Recalling that incident, Ribblett said, "That could never happen now. The situation is not muddled now by the existence of the PSA. We're sticking together. Plus we are mad as hornets and we are not going to break."

Ribblett said he was furious to come to work one day a while ago and find a big banner in the yard with a company "mission" statement: "To Produce with a Sense of Urgency."

"I said, 'What is this? Goebbels' propaganda for the Nazi Party?'" Ribblett declared. "The company thinks we are uneducated, but we read."

Newport News Shipbuilding has put in place a 40-person Special Team for "security," armed with clubs and wearing bullet-proof vests in anticipation of the strike. The city police parked a big arrest van right next to the picket line at the 50th Street gate. This, plus stepped-up patrols by local and state police, company cameras, and Navy military security, are very visible to all the pickets at the Washington Avenue shipyard gates. Union picket captains are organizing a disciplined presence by strikers and their supporters.

Messages of solidarity and other strike support can be sent to: USWA Local 8888, 4306 Huntington Ave., Newport News, Virginia, 23607.

Mary Martin is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759 in Washington, D.C. Stu Singer is a member of the United Transportation Union.

PATHFINDER

## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

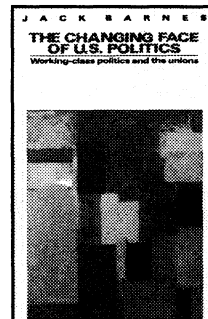
Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

Jack Barnes

A handbook for workers coming that shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. Includes evaluation of the 1979 strike by Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia. \$19.95.

Also available in Spanish and French.

Available from bookstores listed on page 12.



# Castro on battle to end discrimination

Continued from Page 11

applauded. I spoke to them in revolutionary language and they applauded. They are with us, they are with you, they support the revolution. [Applause]

It is necessary to keep the nation united in face of the international oligarchy. It is necessary to keep the nation united so they find us determined, so they find us strong. Let the selfish few, those who are incapable of making the slightest sacrifice for the country, desert the ranks of the nation. Let the enemies of the nation, the enemies of the homeland, desert our ranks. Let the people who have always been traitors desert the ranks of the nation. But let them desert in time so that we know them in time. [Applause]

The nation has very important work ahead of it. The nation has very difficult tasks ahead of it and it's a job for men, not babies in diapers. [Applause] It's a task for generous men, not the selfish. [Applause] It's a task for the courageous, not for cowards. [Applause]

If we did not hesitate to march forward when the revolution seemed least likely to triumph, how can we waver now? If we didn't waver when we were a handful of men lost in

the mountains, how can we doubt that the revolution will be victorious now? [Applause]

I have felt a lot of emotions in my life, but rarely like today. Few emotions can match seeing the working class and all the people who live in the city of Havana marching with their signs in support of their brothers in the countryside. [Applause]

Few emotions can match seeing that the most deeply felt and profound demand put forward by the working class is not a demand for itself but a demand on behalf of their peasant brothers. Few emotions can match seeing how this idea has found an echo in the hearts of the workers, seeing how they have understood that without a prosperous peasantry, without a peasantry that has purchasing power, there can be no progress in industry, no end to unemployment, no well-being for the working class.

How this idea has taken hold! And how moving it is to see the tractors passing by like armored units that will win the great battle of the future. [Applause]

Even more moving than the tractors marching by is the united march of the Rebel Army, shoulder to shoulder with the working class. [Applause] Military officers march-

ing alongside men who live by the sweat of their brow is an unequivocal symbol of our revolution. Yesterday, the soldiers, the rural police, would never have been able to march alongside the workers and peasants—never. [Applause] Today, how moving it is for us, how proud we are, to see the twelve men of yesterday transformed into an army of soldiers marching in the vanguard of the workers of our nation. [Applause]

Not everyone was yet wearing a cap. They didn't all have the same cap on because the revolution that has allotted millions for schools and universities has not yet gotten loans to buy caps for the soldiers of the Rebel Army. [Applause] Emotions like this are experienced few times in life. They are rewards that more than make up for all the sacrifices and sleepless nights.

I want to end by expressing my regrets and setting a date. With all the respect and consideration that our hospitable people have for visitors, [Applause] I apologize to our guest because I have had to disagree with his point of view. And I take leave of the people until our next meeting—I take leave of the working class until May Day. [Applause].

## Cubans speak at Civil Rights Institute

BY CINDY JAQUITH  
AND SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "Our visit made a magnificent impression on us. Before, we had only a general idea of what the civil rights movement was, based on what we had read and studied in Cuba," said Itamys García Villar, speaking here March 30 at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI).

García and Luis Ernesto Morejón — two youth leaders from Cuba currently on a speaking tour in the United States — spent several hours at the Institute that morning, studying exhibits depicting life for Blacks under Jim Crow segregation in the South, and the militant battles led by Black workers in the 1950s and 1960s that overthrew the "Whites only/Colored only" system.

García, 27, and Morejón, 23, noted to their tour guides that they had never witnessed institutionalized racism in Cuba, which was eradicated following the 1959 socialist revolution there.

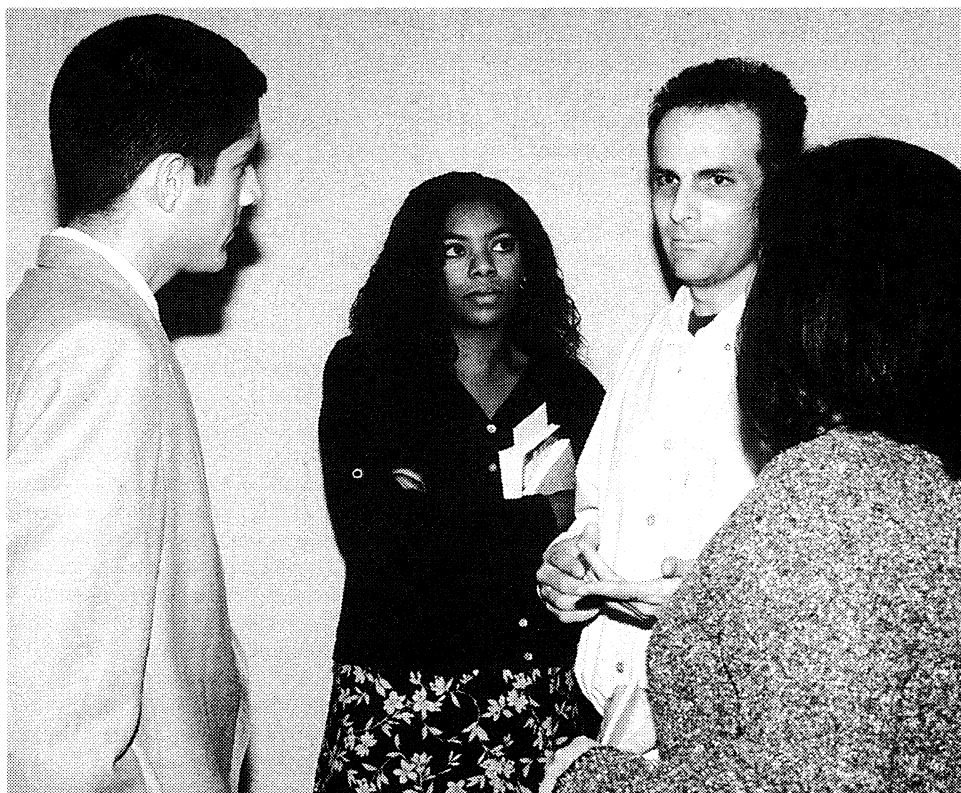
That evening, the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute hosted a citywide meeting for the two Cuban youths attended by some 50 people. The event was chaired by University of Alabama/Birmingham history professor Dr. Horace Huntley, who is also on staff at the BCRI. Odessa Woolfolk, president of the board of directors of the BCRI, also welcomed the two young Cubans.

Among those bringing greetings to the meeting was Joann Hogan, vice president of the Catfish Workers of America. She and two other workers in that group from Belzoni, Mississippi, had earlier toured the BCRI with the Cuban youth. Hogan told the audience a little about their struggle against unjust firings by the Freshwater Farms catfish-processing plant last November. "I'm here to support the Cubans," declared Hogan, "and if anyone else needs our support, just let us know."

García and Morejón were invited to speak in this city by several departments at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) and at Miles College. The local tour was also sponsored by the Black Student Awareness Committee at UAB, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and others.

More than 40 people, largely UAB students and faculty, heard García and Morejón at a meeting at the UAB Smolian International House March 29. Student legislator MaryAnn Geronimo welcomed the Cuban youths by reading the resolution adopted by the Student Government Association (SGA) at UAB. The SGA supported the youths' visit as a valuable "exchange of free thought and expression to increase student awareness and enhance their experience."

Desiree Fisher from the Black Student



Luis Ernesto Morejón (left) talks with students and workers at Birmingham meeting

Awareness Committee also welcomed the Cubans to the UAB campus. "It is important that we create and maintain close ties to each other to exchange information about current events affecting the students in both countries," she said.

There were a lot of questions after the Cuban youths' presentations ranging from

"What elements of capitalism are Cubans willing to experiment with?" to "What was the role of Cuban volunteers in southern Africa?" and "Are there class divisions in Cuba?"

"The revolution has given all kinds of opportunities to women," García explained in response to a question about the role of

women in Cuba today. "Before 1959 women had no right to a job, to higher education. Now, as a Black and as a woman, there are no limits on what I can do."

Another person asked about the Cubans' initiative in Haiti, where Cuban doctors and medical workers have volunteered to spearhead a major campaign to improve health care. "We have made doctors available to go to Haiti to establish a health program like the one we have in Cuba," García said. "Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world, with one of the highest infant mortality rates. We will provide the doctors. All we ask is that the material resources to back such a campaign be provided by the more developed countries. Unfortunately, none has so far been forthcoming."

Earlier that day, García and Morejón traveled to Epes, Alabama, where they spent time talking with Black farmers who are members of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

The farmers explained the difficulties they face as small producers trying to get loans and to compete in the market. They asked about the attitude of the government in Cuba toward working farmers.

"In 1959, one of the first mandates of the revolution was to give land to those who worked it," Morejón told them. The Cuban said he had been struck by the number of farmers he met in neighboring Georgia who had to rent their land and who would never own it.

Morejón and García also explained how the government in Cuba guarantees a market for all the produce of the farmers as well as striving to assure that everyone in Cuba has access to basic foods.

## Police attempt to frame up leader of indigenous Sami people in Sweden

BY DANIEL AHL  
AND DAG TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Olof T. Johansson, chairman of the Sami village of Tossåsen and member of the Sami parliament, was arrested and held in solitary confinement for a week. Johansson, one of the most well-known leaders of the oppressed Sami nationality in this country, was not allowed any outside contact or newspapers during that time. Court procedures took place behind locked doors. Johansson was then released unconditionally, but still could face frame-up charges of "grave sabotage."

The Sami, sometimes called Laplanders, are the indigenous people of the Arctic regions of Sweden, Norway, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. In fighting to protect their traditional hunting and reindeer grazing rights, they have come in conflict with the large landowners, who are backed by the Swedish government.

Johansson, 44, was woken in the morning March 26 by cops at his mother's apartment. He had just returned from a two-week information campaign to Holland, Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. Johansson toured those countries with Sami leader Ingrid Rehnfeldt and activist Nanna Borchert.

Johansson was accused of bombing a pair of power grids in northwestern Sweden last August. The police searched his mother's apartment. They also searched his private home in Östersund, seizing his personal computer and other personal items he uses in his work.

"Olof has a lot of support among the Sami people. And we think that he's innocent until the opposite has been proved," Elin Klemensson, president of Sáminuorra (Sami Youth), said in a phone interview March 30. "This makes you wonder what the police and judicial system think they are doing. Why did they bring Olof in if they didn't have any proof? The police grabbed him and told the press [their accusations]. It makes you wonder if there's racism in this. This has deeply worried the entire Sami population, because we have always had to fight

tooth and nail for our rights."

Östersund chief prosecutor Sune Andersson charged Johansson with "grave sabotage" — which can carry a lifetime prison sentence — and with calling for such action. In the March 26 daily *Dagens Nyheter*, the prosecutor claimed that had the power grids fallen against each other, "It could have plunged half of Sweden into darkness." He also referred to the explosions as "political terrorism."

The only so-called evidence against Johansson reportedly presented by the cops was an e-mail signed by the "Action Group Against Free Mountain Hunting," who sent the press message announcing the power grid bombs in September. The cops claimed Johansson had sent the e-mail from a public library computer.

Johansson is responsible for the web pages of the *Samefolket* (Sami People) monthly magazine, and is also a columnist for that paper. Speaking at a press conference hosted by the World Wildlife Fund in London shortly before his return, he spoke about the conflict between Swedish forest owners and Sami villages. Right now, seven Sami villages in Sweden have been sued by private landowners over traditional reindeer grazing rights.

This fight has been heating up throughout the 1990s, with the Sami villages suffering a number of setbacks in legal conflicts against landlords, who are backed by the government in Stockholm. In 1993, the Sami Villages lost veto power over hunting licenses. Since then, anybody can buy a license in the Swedish part of Sápmi, the Sami name for the northern area where they live. Some 50,000 live in Norway; 20,000 in Sweden; 4-5,000 in Finland; and 2,000 on the Kola peninsula in Russia.

In 1996, a local court in Sveg ruled that Sami reindeer keepers cannot have their flocks anywhere in private-owned forests. Sami representatives cited their traditional rights, but the court held that those rights couldn't be proved.

Klemensson pointed out that the Swed-

ish government has refused to sign the ILO-169, an international charter from 1989 that recognizes the rights of indigenous peoples. "We're nearing the year 2000 and we haven't solved the Sami question," she said. "I think this arrest is just the beginning."

*Daniel Ahl is a member of the Young Socialists in Stockholm. Dag Tirsén is a member of the Metal Workers Union in Stockholm.*

### Hear Cuban Youth Speak

#### IOWA

Ames  
**Tuesday, April 13, 7 p.m.**  
Iowa State University  
Great Hall, Memorial Union  
Sponsor: Iowa Committee on Cuban Youth and Education

#### CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles  
**Thursday, April 15, 7:00 p.m.**  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Kinsey Building, Room 169  
Sponsor: Committee on Cuban Youth and Education; UCLA Undergraduate Student Association; Raza Women; Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba

San Francisco  
**Thursday, April 22, 12 noon**  
San Francisco State University  
César Chávez Student Center Auditorium  
Sponsors: Ricardo Montenegro, Associated Students president; La Raza Students at SFSU; Professor Felix Kury in La Raza Studies Department; CARECEN, The Share Foundation; MEChA

### Leader of Landless Rural Workers of Brazil will visit Georgia, Florida

Augusto Olsson, a leader of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) of Brazil, will visit Georgia and Florida in mid-April to meet with farmers, farm workers, and students. The MST is a mass organization that has been at the forefront of the battle for land in Brazil, a country where millions of rural toilers have been dispossessed by landlords and capitalists. It has organized land takeovers by tens of thousands of farm families throughout the country.

Olsson, 27, is a member of the MST's National Coordinating Committee from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. He is a leader of an MST-run cooperative farm involving 28 families in Piratini, near the border with Uruguay.

Olsson will speak with a group of small farmers in southern Georgia, and later at a Militant Labor Forum in Atlanta on Wednesday, April 14. In Florida he is invited to address a meeting of the Florida Farm Workers Association in Homestead, and a group of farmers in the central part of the state, among other events. For more information, contact the Pathfinder bookstore in Atlanta, (404) 577-7976.